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I. MANICHAEAN ART AND TEXTS FROM THE SILK ROAD*

1. *Introduction*

The discovery of Manichaean texts and examples of the sect's artistic achievements takes us back to one of the earliest chapters of the modern study of the Silk Road. The Manichaean religion was a religion of the book *par excellence*. Early Manichaean missionaries counted scribes and calligraphers among their number. Even such staunch enemies of the sect as Ephraim and Augustine had to admit the artistic skills of the Manichaeans while Mani himself enjoyed a high reputation in Arabic sources as a ("Chinese") painter in the Islamic period. However, the religion was hounded out of existence by its many enemies (Zoroastrians, Christians, Muslims and Confucianists) who also did their utmost to destroy its meeting places and burn its literature. This destruction was so thorough, especially in the West, that until the middle of the last century, Europe's knowledge of the basic teachings of the Manichaean sect was largely dependent on the writings of the Fathers, especially those of Augustine of Hippo who, for a period of nine years, was a lay member of the sect and therefore had first hand knowledge of its teachings and activities in Roman North Africa and Italy. Soon after his famous conversion to Catholic Christianity, he began to write prolifically against the sect, concentrating on the illogicality of its tenets and on the moral ambivalence of its Elect members. Augustine is one of the few polemicists who cites direct from Manichaean works – both from the writings of Mani such as the *Thesaurus* (*Treasures*) and the *Epistula fundamenti* and also from those of Faustus of

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* This is an expanded and up-dated version of an article first published in K. Tanabe, J. Cribb and H. Wang (edd.), *Silk Road Coins and Culture* (Kamakura, 1997) 261-312. Though published in 1997, the article was submitted in 1994. Some of the research for this article, especially on the contribution of the German Iranologists and Turkologists to the study of the subject, was made while I was guest of the Institutum Judaicum at the Universität Tübingen, 1989-90. I would like to thank Prof. Martin Hengel, FBA, for his kind invitation and the Humboldt Stiftung for financing my stay at Tübingen. I would also like to thank (the late) Prof. Böhlig and his wife for their hospitality and Prof. Gaube for allowing me to attend his classes on Manichaean texts in Middle Iranian. Prof. Werner Sundermann (Berlin) has been a constant source of advice and information and this article is dedicated to him and his wife, Hannelore, his colleague, Dr. Peter Zieme, and their co-workers at the Akademienvorhaben Turfanforschung in Berlin.

Milevis, one of the most famous Manichaean teachers in the Latin West in the fourth century. These citations, together with those preserved in a polemical work entitled the *Acta Archelai*, constituted the basis of the critical study of Manichaeism until the middle of the last century. As an experienced polemicist, Augustine was always on guard against his reader falling for the heretical teaching which he was endeavouring to refute and consequently he never presented more of his opponents' arguments than was needed for the purpose of refutation.

A turning point, the first of many in Manichaean studies, was the publication in 1865 by Gustav Flügel of his edition and translation of a long article on Mani and his religion by the ninth century Baghdad bibliographer and encyclopaedist, Abul Faraj Muhammed ibn Ishak "al-Warrak" (the book-seller), commonly known as Ibn al-Yakub al-Nadim, which clearly draws material *sine ira et studio* from genuine Manichaean sources which were still extant in Arabic in his time.[1] Before the end of the century, another important discovery was made by the Semitic scholar Pognon of the anti-heretical catalogue of Theodor bar Kōnai, Nestorian Bishop of Kashkar (near al-Waṣit) in Iraq, which also cites extensively from a Manichaean source in Syriac – a language akin to Mani's own dialect of Aramaic – on cosmogony.[2] The material from Theodor's *mimra* on Manichaean cosmogony was cited *in extenso* with extensive annotation by Cumont and Kugener. The latter also made available, for the first time, citations from another Manichaean text on cosmogony preserved in the Syriac translation of one of the homilies of Severus, the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch (*c.* A.D. 465-538).[3]

2. *The German Expeditions to Turfan (1902-14)*

It was the Silk Road, however, which yielded the first major hoard of genuine Manichaean texts, *viz.* texts produced by members of the sect for the religious life of their communities. In November 1902, an expedition led by Grünwedel, Director of the Indian Department of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, reached Chotcho in Central Asia. Grünwedel was a specialist in Buddhism in India and Tibet, and his interest in the Turfan Basin as a possible centre of diffusion of Graeco-Roman art into north India

[1] Cf. G. Flügel, *Mani. Seine Lehre und seine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1862) 4-80.

[2] H. Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes des coupes de Khouabir*, II (Paris, 1899) tr. 184-93.

[3] F. Cumont and M. Kugener, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, II (Bruxelles, 1912) 89-150.

began in 1899 with the report by two Russian scholars from St. Petersburg, Radloff and Salemann, who brought samples of manuscripts and artistic remains from the region which they had earlier visited. However, financial backing for a German expedition was hard to come by as the Prussian Academy was reluctant to be involved. An expedition was made possible in the end through using the funds of the Museum and private donations. At the site known as Ruine- or Complex-α, Bartus, Grünwedel's assistant and one of the most colourful members of this and subsequent expeditions, when digging among the ruins along the remains of an inner city wall, came upon a beautiful frescoed floor, which later proved to be part of a *cella*. The walls of the *cella* were also adorned with frescoes and on one of them was the upper part of a body of a white-robed priest with a rectangular hat. After they had moved to another site, local inhabitants brought manuscript fragments dug out of the passage-ways around the *cella* in Complex-α. One of these contained a miniature with white-robed men resembling the figure on the fresco.[4] Grünwedel surmised that the expedition had stumbled upon a manuscript depository. The script of the manuscripts was immediately recognised as a form of Estrangela, one of the most common Syriac scripts, but it was less easy to identify the language(s). Near the southern gateway of the complex was a series of rubble-filled rooms in which were found texts in Uighur Turkish as well as printed and hand-copied Buddhist texts and secular documents.[5]

At the end of the expedition in March 1903, the study of the texts in Estrangela script brought back to Berlin was entrusted to F. W. K. Müller, a Sinologist with a thorough knowledge of classical Arabic and Persian as well as the repertoire of classical and modern languages standard among German scholars of his time. He began with an exceptionally well-preserved fragment on white leather (M178 = MIK III 4990) but made little progress as the language of it (Sogdian) was then unknown.[6] Less than a year later,

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[4] MIK III 4979. Cf. A. von Le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike II, Die Manichäischen Miniaturen* (Berlin 1923) pl. 8a/b. [Hereafter von Le Coq, *Miniaturen.*]

[5] Cf. M. Boyce, *A Catalogue of the Iranian manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan collection* (Berlin, 1960) [hereafter Boyce, *Cat.*] X-XI and H. Härtel and M. Yaldiz, *Die Seidenstraße, Malereien und Plastiken aus buddhistischen Höhlentempeln* (Berlin, 1987) 15-18. [Hereafter Härtel–Yaldiz, *Die Seidenstraße.*] Eng. trans. of an earlier edition by Ian Robson, *Along the Ancient Silk Routes, Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1982.

[6] Cf. W. B. Henning, "A Sogdian Fragment of the Manichaean Cosmogony", *BSOAS* 12 (1948) 306.

he was able to communicate to the Prussian Academy on 18 February a full table of transcriptions, specimen texts and even sample translations – he had by then worked out that the language of some of the texts was a form of Middle Iranian then known as Pahlavi and was able to transcribe and translate both the recto and verso of one small fragment (MIK III 8259 I V i 1-9, V ii 15-18).[7] He concluded his short communication[8] with the suggestion that the texts were of Manichaean origin as Chinese sources had indicated the region to be a centre of Manichaeism in the Middle Ages.[9]

Five months later, Müller placed before the Prussian Academy a substantial selection of Manichaean texts with interlinear translations.[10] The information on the original writings of the Manichaeans provided by Ibn al-Nadim had enabled Müller to identify many fragments from Mani's *Šābuhragān* – a semi-canonical work which Mani wrote in Persian for his first imperial patron, Shāpūr I.[11] The fragments would later be re-ordered by the Belgian Ghilain[12] and a fuller version was published more recently by MacKenzie.[13] Of great importance also are two double sheets (M98-99) which contain a detailed account of the fashioning of the heavens and the earths by the Living Spirit.[14] Other fragments contain excerpts from Mani's canonical *Evangelium* as well as letters and accounts of Manichaean history. The texts were reproduced in transcription and are vocalised. The entire collection would later be republished with minor revisions by Salemann in unvocalised Hebrew transcription and provided with grammatical notes, a word-index and reverse-index.[15] The pioneering achievement of Müller also

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[7] Cf. F. W. K. Müller, "Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan I", APAW 1904 [hereafter *HR i*] 350-51, texts given as P1 and P2 by C. S. Salemann in *Manichäische Studien, I, Die mittelpersischen Texte in revidierter transcription, mit glossar and grammatischen bemerkungen*, Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, St. Petersburg (1908) 32.

[8] I.e. *HR i.*

[9] Ibid. 352.

[10] I. e. F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan II*, aus den Anhang zu den APAW 1904, 1-117. [Hereafter *HR ii.*]

[11] Ibid. 11-25.

[12] A. Ghilain, "Un feuillet manichéen reconstitué", *Le Muséon* 59 (1946) 535-45.

[13] D. N. MacKenzie, "Mani's *Šābuhragān*", *BSOAS* 42/3 (1979) 500-34 and "Mani's *Šābuhragān* – II", *ibid.* 43/2 (1980) 288-310..

[14] *HR ii*, pp. 37-43.

[15] C. S. Salemann, *Manichäische Studien, I, Die mittelpersischen Texte in revidierter transcription, mit glossar and grammatischen bemerkungen*,

enabled Salemann to edit and translate a number of important Iranian fragments in Manichaean script in the St. Petersburg collection.[16]

The later successful interpretation of a commemorative inscription in Uighur, on a wooden pile discovered in Complex-α,[17] raised the important question of why so many Manichaean texts were found in a site which had been a Buddhist monastery since *c.* A. D. 768. More recent research into the history of religious foundations of the region and of the names and titles of Uighur kings has led to the redating of the inscription to 1008, a time when Buddhism was beginning to replace Manichaeism as a predominant religion of the Turfan region.[18] Complex-α was clearly the site of a major centre of Manichaeism, probably the seat of an *archegos* of the East, to which important correspondence concerning the administration and organisation of the sect in all the lands between the Oxus and the frontier of the Chinese Empire was addressed.

News of the finds by the first expedition, especially of Buddhist art treasures, caused a considerable stir in Japan, with the result that Count Ōtani, the head of the Buddhist Pure Land Sect (Jodo Shinshu), financed a Japanese expedition to the Tarim Basin in 1902-03 and a second one in 1908-09. The two expeditions both contributed greatly to the geographical knowledge of the Silk Road.[19] They also yielded a number of texts (now housed in Kyoto) in Manichaean script which are now finally being studied and published.[20]

Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, St. Petersburg. [Hereafter Salemann, *MStud.*]

[16] Idem, *MStud.* and idem, "Manichaeica III", *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg* (1912) 1-32.

[17] F. W. K. Müller, "Zwei Pfahlinschriften aus den Turfanfunden" in APAW 1915, 6-13.

[18] W. Sundermann, "Completion and correction of archaeological work by philological means: the case of the Turfan texts" in P. Bernard and F. Grenet (edd.), *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie Centrale préislamique. Sources écrites et documents archéologiques. Actes du Colloque international du CNRS* (Paris, 1991) 286-87. [Hereafter Sundermann, *Completion.*]

[19] H.-J. Klimkeit, *Die Seidenstraße: Handelsweg und Kulturbrücke zwischen Morgen- und Abendland* (Cologne, 1988) 38. [Hereafter Klimkeit, *Seidenstraße.*]

[20] See esp. W. Sundermann, *The Manichaean Hymn cycles Huyadagmān and Angad Rōšnān in Parthian and Sogdian,* Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Supplementary Series, II (London, 1990) 22 and idem, *Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous, Eine Lehrschrift des östlichen Manichäismus, Edition der parthischen und soghdischen Version,* Berliner Turfantexte XVII (Berlin, 1992) 38 and Y. Yoshida, "On a Manichaean Middle Iranian fragment lost from the Ōtani

The unexpected success of the first German expedition led for calls among the German intelligentsia for more and the second expedition (officially termed the First Royal Prussian Expedition because it received funding from the Kaiser) set off in September 1908 under the leadership of Albert von Le Coq, a well-known figure in Turkology who had at one time been a trader and was now an honorary worker of the Museum für Völkerkunde. The main discovery was made at Ruine- or Complex-K, an important group of ruins at Chotcho, lying roughly in the centre of the city.[21] It was in one of the three large halls at the centre of the complex that peasants had recently exposed, behind a thin outer wall, an older and exquisitely executed wall-painting of Manichaean priests in three rows behind an outsized figure.[22] The description of this stunning discovery as given by von Le Coq to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1909 is still worth citing in full:[23]

> Our attention was invited to the large and centrally situated complex of ruins, marked K on the plan, by the fact that some natives had pulled down a wall in the northernmost of the three large hall-like edifices we found in the centre of this complex. It then appeared that this wall had anciently been erected with a view of obliterating the paintings on the face of the original wall, on which we found the picture, in water-colours, of a Manichaean high-priest in his pontifical robes, surrounded by a number of his clergy, all dressed in the white sacerdotal robes, which we know from their recurrence on Manichaean miniatures to be the costume of a certain class of ecclesiastics of that faith. The portrait of the high-priest – for the whole group of painted faces impresses one as being meant for portraits – is done larger than life. His dress is white, but shows a rectangular piece of embroidery attached to the part covering the bosom, while a broad band of embroidery passes over the left – and probably also over the right (destroyed) – shoulder. His tall white cap is embroidered with gold, and held on the head by a black band which passes under the chin. The face is oval, the nose aquiline, but the eyes, small and rather slanting in their position, recall the manner of Chinese artists when painting the portrait of a European. The nimbus is composed of moon-

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collection" in O. Sakiyama and A. Sato (edd.) *Asian Lanugages and General Linguistics* (Tokyo/Sanseido, 1990) 176-78.

[21] A. von Le Coq, *Chotscho: Facsimile–Wiedergraben der wichtigeren Funde der ersten königlich preussischen Expedition nach Turfan in Ost-turkistan* (Berlin, 1913) 7-9. [Hereafter von Le Coq, *Chotscho*.]

[22] See plate in von Le Coq, *Chotscho*, Tafel 1, orig. size 168.5 x 88 cm., poorly reproduced in H.-J. Klimkeit, *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy*, Iconography of Religions 20 (Leiden, 1982) pl. VII, 10a. [Hereafter, Klimkeit, *Art.*]

[23] A. von Le Coq, "A short account of the origin, journey, and results of the First Royal Prussian (Second German) Expedition to Turfan in Chinese Turkistan", *JRAS* 1909, 304-05. [Hereafter von Le Coq, *Short account.*)

> crescent and sun, the disc of the sun being represented as golden-yellow. The peculiar signification of this extraordinary nimbus has caused the impression that perhaps we have here a picture of Manes (*sic*) himself before us.

The nimbus-effect surrounding the head of the chief figure is particularly striking and distinguishes him from the other figures. The symbol of sun and moon occupies an important place in Manichaean cosmology as the two celestial bodies are also light vessels for the conveyance of redeemed Light-Particles. The three rows of lesser figures contain a minimum of thirteen persons which rules out the possibility of their being the twelve disciples of Mani *in instar apostolici numeri.* They are all named in what were later identified as Sogdian letters in black with one exception which is in Manichaean script in red. None of the names approximate to those of Mani's earliest disciples as known to us from Manichaean historical texts. The expedition apparently arrived in the nick of time to prevent the painting from falling into the hands of treasure hunters. On the opposite wall was apparently a lesser figure which was not so elaborately painted. This depiction (now no longer extant) might have been that of Mār Ammō, the chief Manichaean missionary to the eastern lands during the lifetime of Mani.[24]

Complex-K had clearly once been a Manichaean library as the excavators found manuscript fragments which had been reduced to loess by irrigation-water lying deep on the floor. It was, as von Le Coq mournfully exclaimed, 'ein ungeheurer Schatz verlorengegangen':[25]

> Thus I had the grief of discovering in the Manichaean shrine K a library which was utterly destroyed by water. When I had unearthed the door from the heaped-up loess dust and sand we found on the threshold the dried-up corpse of a murdered Buddhist monk, his ritual robe all stained with blood. The whole room, into which this door led, was covered to a depth of about two feet with a mass of what, on closer inspection, proved to be remains of Manichaean manuscripts. The loess water had penetrated the papers, stuck everything together, and in the terrible heat of the usual summer there all these valuable books had turned into loess. I took specimens of them and dried them carefully in the hope of saving some of these manuscripts; but the separate pages crumbled off and dropped into small fragments, on which the remains of beautifully written lines, intermingled with traces of miniatures executed in gold, blue, red, green, and yellow, were still to be seen. An

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[24] Cf. Klimkeit, *Art*, 25.

[25] A. von Le Coq, *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkistan, Berichte und Abenteuer der II. und III. Deutschen Turfan-Expedition* (Leipzig, 1926) 47. [Hereafter von Le Coq, *Spuren*]. Eng. trans. by Anna Barwell, *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan* (London, 1928) 61.

> enormous treasure has been lost here. On the walls we found exceedingly well-executed frescoes, but they, too, were much damaged. In a narrow passage near this library a tremendous quantity of textile materials, some Persian and some Chinese in character, was discovered, amongst other things Manichaean hanging pictures on cloth, depicting a man or a woman in the full canonicals of the Manichaean priesthood.[26]

The library was apparently undamaged until the beginning of the twentieth century when the irrigation channels were dug causing a rise in the watertable and thereby the books to rot.[27] Besides destruction by nature of a major hoard of texts in the Manichaean script, von Le Coq and his companions were also greatly disappointed to learn that they had arrived too late to rescue other texts from human destruction out of sheer ignorance:[28]

> Our expeditions arrived too late at Karakhoja. Had they come earlier, more of these remarkable Sassanian-Hellenistic paintings would certainly have been secured. We should have saved, too, very much more of the literature of the religious community, important as it is to the history of religions and languages alike; one of the peasants told me that five years before the arrival of the first expedition he had, in the ruins of one of the temples, which were pulled down to turn their site into fields, found great cart-loads (*araba*) of those manuscripts 'with the little writing' (i.e. Manichaean) for which we were making such diligent search. Many had been ornamented with pictures in gold and colours. But he was afraid, to begin with, of the unholy nature of the writings and, secondly, that the Chinese might use the discovery as a pretext for fresh extortions, so that he straightway threw the whole library into the river!

Nevertheless, Manichaean texts were found in many other sites at Chotcho, most notably in a small barrel-vaulted room in a domed building along the north of Complex-K in which were also found the bodies of Buddhist monks violently slain, and also in ruins which were situated in the southern part of the city. In March 1905, von Le Coq brought the work at Chotcho to a close and moved on to work at temple sites at Sängim, Bäzäklik (=Murtuq) and Tuyoq. Many manuscript fragments, including those of Manichaean texts, were recovered from these sites, especially from a half-destroyed library in Tuyoq, which included fragments of Christian and Buddhist texts, as well as Manichaean texts in Middle Iranian and Turkish.[29] The manuscripts consisted of bound books, scrolls and the occasional Indian-type

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[26] Ibid. trans. p. 61.
[27] Cf. Boyce, *Cat.*, 68, n. 1.
[28] von Le Coq, *Spuren*, 44; trans. 58-59.
[29] Cf. Boyce, *Cat.* XVII.

poṭhi (on the last *v. infra* §5b). The writing was executed in excellent calligraphy and in good ink on leather, silk, and, most commonly, high-quality paper. Some of the texts were also illustrated with exquisite and delicate miniatures. In most cases the texts had been reduced to fragments by over-zealous Islamic invaders who might have been offended by the anthropomorphic representations of deities and demons in the illustrations.

In August 1905, von Le Coq received word that Grünwedel had finally decided to join the expedition and he was to meet him at Kashgar. The two met in December and the combined parties began what is technically known as the 'Third German Expedition to Turfan' which lasted from December 1905 until June 1907, but ill-health forced von Le Coq to pull out of the expedition in June 1906, and return via India. A total of six sites were explored and Manichaean manuscripts were found at Murtuk. The lack of a find list from this particular expedition makes it difficult to evaluate both the quantity and importance of the Manichaean fragments recovered.[30]

As one would expect, the large amount of artifacts and texts brought back by the second and third expeditions kept the scholars in Berlin occupied for the next few years. The political situation in the Turfan region had in the meantime degenerated to such an extent that the personal safety of the would-be western explorers could not be guaranteed. Prior to their departure from Berlin in March 1913, both von Le Coq and Bartus had to sign a declaration at the Foreign Office that they were embarking on their new expedition at their own personal risk. The fourth and last German expedition left by train for Kashgar with the express intention of further exploring the area around Kucha (south-west of Turfan) visited by the Third Expedition. This final expedition, the subject of a well-known popular work by von Le Coq,[31] examined mainly Buddhist sites between Tumšuk and Kurla which yielded no Manichaean text or art-fragment. The only Manichaean fragments in Berlin which carry signatures associated with this final expedition were probably brought by locals to von Le Coq from Chotcho to Kucha.[32] In March 1914, von Le Coq and Bartus left Kashgar to head back to Berlin via Russia, returning shortly before Europe was plunged into the horrors of the Great War.

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[30] Ibid. XIX.

[31] I.e. *Von Land und Leuten in Ostturkistan. Berichte und Abenteuer der 4. Deutschen Turfanexpedition* (Leipzig, 1928).

[32] Cf. Boyce, *Cat.* XX-XXI.

3. *The discoveries of Manichaean texts at Dunhuang* 敦煌

Dunhuang, arguably the most famous of the Silk Road cities, came into prominence as a source of Manichaean texts as a result of the historic 'inspection' of the large cache of texts in the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas in May 1907 by Marc Aurel Stein, then Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore. The cache had come to light several years earlier when a Taoist priest had by chance discovered a sealed entrance while cleaning up one of the cave-temples. Stein's description of the cave is as follows:[33]

> The entrance to the cave-temple had been formerly blocked by fallen rock débris and drift-sand, as was still partially the case at several of the caves situated at the foot of the cliff further south. While restorations were slowly being carried on in the temple cellar and the place now occupied by its antechapel, the labourers engaged had noticed a crack in the frescoed wall of the passage connecting the two. An opening was thus discovered that led to a recess or small chamber excavated from the rock behind the stuccoed north wall of the passage.
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> Manuscript rolls, written in Chinese characters but in a non-Chinese language, were said to have filled the recess completely. Their total quantity was supposed to be so great as to make up several cartloads. News of the discovery having reached distant Lan-chou, specimens of the manuscripts were asked for from provincial headquarters. Ultimately orders were supposed to have come from the Viceroy of Kan-su to restore the whole of the find to its original place of deposit. So now this strange hoard of undeciphered manuscripts was declared to be kept by the Tao-shih behind the carefully locked door with which the hidden recess had been provided since its first discovery.

The documents had been deposited before 1035 when the cave was sealed. This man-made time-capsule would turn into one of the most significant documentary finds in recent history. A skilled negotiator, Stein managed to persuade the Taoist priest, Wang Tao-shih 王道士, the discoverer of the cache and keeper of the Buddhist temple in which the sealed cave was found, to permit him to take to India (the land of origin of the Buddhist texts) a large quantity of texts for further study. The news of the find soon attracted other scholarly visitors to Dunhuang and among them was the distinguished French Central Asian scholar, Paul Pelliot. Among the manuscripts he was able to acquire for the Bibliothèque Nationale was a fragment in Chinese of some thirty lines, which Pelliot was able to identify as the concluding section of a summary of Manichaean doctrine. This text has come to be

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[33] M.-A. Stein, *Serindia*, II (Oxford, 1921) 801-02.

known as the "Fragment Pelliot" (P3884) after its discoverer. By then, news of the discovery had belatedly reached Chinese scholars in Beijing and what remained of the cache was brought back to the capital. It was not long before the Chinese scholars noticed that what had appeared to be an untitled Buddhist text in Chinese in fact belonged to an Iranian religion, as it contained a number of loan-words which were not transliterations of Sanskrit or of Pali as commonly found in Chinese Buddhist texts. The Chinese scholar, Lo Ts'en-yü 羅振玉, suspected that its original version was Iranian and entitled the text *Po-ssu chiao ts'an-ching* 波斯教殘經 (The fragmentary scripture of a Persian religion) (Cat. no. Bei 北 8470, formerly Yu 宇 56). Since Chinese scholars then were not sufficiently conversant in the subject of Iranian religions to attempt a serious study of the text, Professors Eduard Chavannes and Paul Pelliot, who were the two most eminent scholars then in the study of foreign religions in China, were invited jointly to edit the text. This led to their epoch-making study "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine", published in three parts of the *Journal Asiatique* from 1911-13.[34] It gives a fully annotated translation of the newly discovered text, together with a translation of the "Fragment Pelliot" and a collection of testimonies on the diffusion of Manichaeism in China. The existence of Manichaeism in China, once doubted by Chavannes himself, was no longer in question. The *testimonia* from Chinese historical, bureaucratic and literary sources published by the two French scholars also help to explain the presence of Manichaeism in the Tarim Basin. From them we learn that the religion reached China in the early eighth century, but it was only allowed to be propagated among members of the foreign communities. The status of the religion changed completely when the Khaghan of the Uighur Turks (who were the main mercenaries of a weak T'ang government) was converted to the religion in 762. The capital of the Uighur Kingdom was then at Karabalghasun on the Orkhon, south of Lake Baikal, and the conversion was celebrated in the famous fragmentary trilingual inscription (Turkish, Sogdian and Chinese) found at the ruins of the capital. Later, in 840, when the Uighurs fell victim to the Kirghiz in a fratricidal war between the two Turkic tribes, the remnants of the Uighur forces, together with the court, were resettled by the T'ang Government in the region around Chotcho. There Manichaeism continued to enjoy the status of the religion of the royal court well into the middle of the tenth century, when its influence was gradually eclipsed by that of Buddhism. The majority of the Manichaean texts recovered by the German Expeditions,

[34] "I", *Journal Asiatique*, 10e sér.,18 (1911) 499-617; "II and III", ibid. 11e sér., 1 (1913) 99-199 and 261-392.

were thus produced in the first century of the Second Uighur Empire, when the religion still enjoyed the patronage of the court and of the nobility.

Among the texts brought back by Stein, first to India and then later to London, is a long Manichaean text in Uighur. The *Xᵘāstvānīft*, as it is known, is a prayer-confessional for the Manichaean Hearer. Versions of this text have already been encountered by scholars among other collections of Manichaean texts, especially the collection in St. Petersburg. Further Manichaean texts in Chinese surfaced in the Stein collection in the next decade. The German scholars, Waldschmidt and Lentz, announced the discovery of two further Manichaean texts among the manuscripts which Stein had brought back from China.[35] One is a long hymnscroll (S7053 *Mo-ni chiao hsia-pu tsan* 摩尼教下部讚) and the other, a summary of the main tenets of the sect entitled the *Compendium of the teaching of Mani the Buddha of Light.* (S3969 *Mo-ni kuang-fu chiao-fa i-lueh* 摩尼光佛教法議略). This was almost immediately recognised as the main part of the document of which the "Fragment Pelliot" preserves the final sections.

4. *The Manichaean artistic remains and their doctrinal and historical significance*

Von Le Coq and his associates had no qualms about removing the finest examples of Buddhist and Manichaean wall-paintings from the site of their discovery, as well as manuscript fragments, and transporting them back to Berlin. Chinese rule over Turkestan was then extremely lax and from 1911 onwards the country was engulfed in civil war. The removal of the artifacts was also justified on the grounds that the predominant religion of the region was Islam which was not known for its tolerance to the art of other religions. Moreover, the Chinese were thought to have no real interest in foreign religions and culture. This view would come to dominate von Le Coq's view of the art of the region. His typical reaction when he witnessed the wall-painting of the Mani-figure in Complex-K at Chotcho for the first time was to its "westernness":[36]

> The whole painting recalls Byzantine art more than anything else; it resembles the style of the miniatures strikingly, without, however,

[35] Cf. E. Waldschmidt, E. and W. Lentz, W. "A Chinese Manichaean hymnal from Tun-huang", *JRAS* 1926, 116-299 and idem, "A Chinese Manichaean hymnal from Tun-huang: Additions and corrections", ibid. 298-99.

[36] von Le Coq, *Short account,* 306.

approaching them in that excellence of execution which is a particular feature of those precious relics.

In his subsequent publications, he would see the main inspiration of the wall- and miniature-painters of Turfan as coming from the West – an extension of Gandharan, and even Hellenistic, art – and would avoid suggesting, even remotely, Chinese influence. The title of his most popular work on his adventures, *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkestan*,[37] speaks legions for his Helleno-centric approach to the history and culture of Chinese Turkestan. In an astonishing feat of publication, von Le Coq completed the reports of the expeditions in a series of handsomely produced large size volumes, which remains the cornerstone of much research on the history, archaeology and art history of the Turfan region.[38] The famous wall-painting of the Mani-figure was proudly exhibited by being plastered on a wall of the Museum für Völkerkunde from 1924 onwards. Sadly, when war was once more threatened in 1939, there was no means of removing this particular painting for safe-storage and it was subsequently destroyed in an air raid, leaving the reproduction in von Le Coq's magnificent publication in 1913 as our main source of this single most impressive example of wall-painting by the sect.

The artistic achievements of the Manichaean miniature painters also became the subject of a special volume by von Le Coq.[39] The quality of their work confirms the great (and sometimes dangerous) reputation Mani and the Manichaeans enjoyed as painters. Art was also an important means of explaining important points of doctrine and we know that one of the canonical works of Mani, the *Ardahang*, was a picture-book. Although no fragment of this work was found in Turfan, nevertheless some of the themes and motifs of the miniatures may well reflect its contents. These exquisitely executed miniatures add significantly to our understanding of Manichaean teaching, especially on cosmogony and ethics as well as their cultural adaptation in a highly syncretistic milieu. The basic teaching of Mani takes the form of a cosmic drama involving a primordial invasion of the Kingdom of Light by elements of the Kingdom of Darkness. The chief deity of the

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[37] Full title: *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkistan, Berichte und Abenteuer der II. und III. Deutschen Turfan-Expedition*, Leipzig. See above, n. 25.

[38] For Manichaean finds see especially von Le Coq, *Chotscho*, Tafeln 1-6. [The 1979 reprint of the work (reprinted at Graz, Austria) is not a full-size reproduction of the original publication. The reduction occasionally distorts finer details in the paintings and in the miniatures. Scholars are strongly advised to consult the original version.]

[39] I.e. *Miniaturen, passim.*

Kingdom of Light is the Father of Greatness and he has four attributes: divinity, light, strength and wisdom. In Greek sources he is aptly described as possessing a fourfold personality (τετραπρόσωπος). His four attributes are attested in both eastern (Parthian: bg, rwšn, z'wr, jyryft; Chinese: *ch'ing-chieh, kuang-ming, ta-li, chih-hui* 清淨 光明 大力 智慧 (literally: purity, light, power and wisdom) and western Manichaean texts (Greek, from the recently published "Prayer of the Emanations" from Kellis in Egypt:[40] ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ φῶς ... καὶ ὁ λόγος, Coptic:[41] ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, ⲟⲩⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲉ, ⲥⲁⲙ, ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ). In Central Asia these attributes assumed distinctive personae and in one of the best known extant miniatures (MIK III 4979)[42] they are represented by a tetrad of Indian deities: Shiva, Brahma, Vishnu and Ganesha. The first three are worshipped by Buddhists as a triad and Ganesha, the elephant-god, is also known to Buddhism. These Hindu deities, therefore, may have come to Manichaeism through Buddhism and their use certainly reflects a high degree of religious syncretism and cultural adaptation by the Manichaeans in the Turfan region, where Buddhism was rapidly becoming the dominant religion. The series of four divinities is also represented in what might have been margin decorations.

Opposed to the Father of Greatness was the Prince of Darkness in his infernal kingdom which was dominated by concupiscence and strife. According to al-Nadim who cites directly from Manichaean writings, he is depicted by the Manichaeans as a monster consisting of the distinctive parts of five types of animals:[43]

> Mani says: Satan arose from this earth of darkness. He was not eternal in his being, rather the elements of the component parts of his being were eternal. These component parts of his being were made up of his elements and they were made into a Satan: his head is like the head of a lion, his rump like the rump of a dragon, his wings like the wings of a bird, his tail like the tail of a great fish, his feet like the feet of crawling animals. After this Satan had been formed from darkness and had received the name of primeval devil, he set about devouring, swallowing and destroying; he went to right and left and pressed down into the depths. In all of this he brought ruin and destruction to whoever he overpowered.

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[40] T Kellis Greek lines 9-10, ed. R. G. Jenkins, "The Prayer of the Emanations in Greek from Kellis (T Kellis 22)", *Le Muséon* 108/3-4 (1995) 249.

[41] Cf. *Ps.-Bk.* 191,11.

[42] Ibid, pl. 8b/a.

[43] Trans. based on Flügel, op. cit., p. 86.

The term πεντάμορφος (in five shapes) is aptly used to describe this collective personification of evil by the neo-Platonist Simplicius.[44] An equally graphic description of his appearance and his rule of terror is also summarised in a fragment of a Manichaean abcedarian hymn in Parthian from Turfan (M507):[45]

> The hideous demon [...] and the form [...]
> He scorches, he destroys [...] he terrifies, [...]
> He flies upon wings, as a being of air; he swims with fins like one of the water; and he crawls like those of the darkness. He is with armour on (his) four limbs, as when the children of the fire run against him in the manner of beings of hell.
> Poisonous springs gush from him; and from him are breathed out [smoky] fogs; he shakes (?) his teeth [like] daggers.
>
> [Five verses missing]
>
> [...] through [...] and hideousness
> [...] they [...] one another [...] tyranny of perdition.
> They (the archons of darkness) are rotting upon a couch of darkness; in pursuit of desire and in lust they bear and again destroy one another.
> The quarrelsome Prince of Darkness has subdued those five pits of destruction (the five regions of the Realm of Darkness), through great ... (?) terror and wrath.
> He has flung much poison and wickedness from that deep upon ... and it (?) stood [...] through [...].

It is hard to imagine that a demonic being so graphically described in the texts did not find artistic expression among the Manichaeans of Turfan. I believe that just such a five-shaped monster is depicted on a wall-painting from Bäzäklik, now in Berlin, which, though well-known among art historians, is not often discussed in relation to Manichaean art. It is of uncertain provenance and it shows a dragon-like creature emerging from a turbulent sea (MIK III 8383).[46] One's immediate impression is that it is an ordinary representation of the Chinese dragon – a common motif in both Chinese art and architecture – and we also have similar creatures depicted (as good luck or imperial symbols?) on silk from Complex-K at Chotcho.

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[44] *In Epict. Ench.*, 35 (68), *Commentaire sur le Manuel d'Epictète, Introduction et édition critique du texte grec* par Ilsetraut Hadot, Philosophia Antiqua 66 (Leiden, 1996) 324.

[45] M507, trans. M. Boyce, "Some Parthian abecedarian hymns", *BSOAS* 14 (1952) 441-42.

[46] Härtel–Yaldiz, *Die Seidenstraße*, 124.

However, I have been informed by leading authorities on Chinese art history that the dragon from Bäzäklik is unique and that it predates most graphic representations of this mythical animal by Chinese artists. The painter appears to have made sure that the features of the five individual animals which combine to form this primeval monster are easily distinguishable. Moreover, the background shows a landscape of caverns from which emerge identical looking trees – a scene which readily calls to mind a description in the extracts of Manichaean writings cited by Severus of Antioch, of the Kingdom of Darkness consisting of caverns and populated by warring and lustful demons of both sexes. From these caverns emerge five trees which together consitute the Tree of Death ('yln' dmwt' 𐫞𐫁𐫤𐫀 𐫞𐫤𐫛𐫞), the symbol of Matter (hwl' 𐫞𐫤𐫛𐫛 = ὑλὴ). Although the Berlin painting might have come originally from a non-Manichaean site, it is not impossible that the painting was either originally Manichaean or was a wall-decoration in a Buddhist temple inspired by a Manichaean original.

In the battle which ensued between the two realms, part of the Kingdom of Light was entrapped by the demonic forces and had to be redeemed by a deity known as the Living Spirit. Among the many Heath Robinson contraptions he devised were the Light Vessels (the Sun and the Moon) which would ferry the rescued Light-Particles back to their land of origin along the Milky Way. The lunar vessel was also the residence of the important deity, the Luminous Jesus. He is exquisitely depicted as a Buddha figure in a lunar-vessel on a fragment of a painting on silk.[47] Unfortunately, the colours of this important and much neglected example of Manichaean art are so delicate that it is impossible to reproduce them in black-and-white photography in the standard work on Manichaean art in English.[48]

The process of redemption is never complete, as sexual regeneration perpetuates the captivity of the Light-Particles in the physical universe. This suffering is personified by Jesus *patibilis*, the sum total of Light-Particles crucified in matter, whose symbol is the Cross of Light. As this Cross of Light is present in all matter, it could be injured by physical activity. Thus, we learn from the Greek *Mani-Codex* that the young Mani was said to have avoided picking dates as the action of harvesting would hurt the Light-Particles present in the plant. When one of his fellow Babylonian "baptists" ignored his warning and cut some vegetables, the plants wailed "just like human beings and like children. Woe, woe! Blood streamed down from the place, which had been struck by the sickle in his hands, and they

[47] von Le Coq, *Chotscho,* pl. 4b.
[48] Cf. Klimkeit, *Art,* 45, see outline drawing on pl. XXV.

screamed with human voices as the blows fell".[49] This avoidance of hurting living matter of any kind is effectively depicted on a miniature which features an out-sized flower with what appears to be a flame on top and two Electi staring horrified at it (MIK III 8259).[50] The fear is so apparent on their faces that von Le Coq's original explanation for the miniature as a didactic scene is grossly inadequate. What we have before us are two Electi terrified at the sight of blood spurting from a damaged plant.[51] A group of Hearers (who might have been responsible for the crime) in penitential stance completes a doctrinally significant artistic representation.

The miniatures are also highly informative on the religious life of the Manichaean community at Chotcho. On the reverse of the miniature depicting the four aspects of the Father of Greatness as four Hindu deities (MIK III 4979) is a Bēma scene. The feast of the Bēma (platform), which commemorates the death of the founder, was the most important liturgical event of the Manichaean calendar. Here we see an Elect, or an icon of Mani, or both, placed on a raised platform with a group of Electi paying homage to him (or it). Beside the Bēma is a three-legged table heaped with grapes and melons – the latter were particularly prized by the Manichaeans because of the large number of Light-Particles they are said to hold. It is fortuitous that the climatic conditions of the Turfan region are specially suited for melon-growing and among the items of rent the Manichaean monasteries expected from lands they rented out were high grade melons (see Monastery Document, line 79).[52] In front of the Electi is a square table with a pile of what look like cakes with the pastry shaped to symbolise the sun and the moon.[53]

As the Electi were forbidden to procure their own food since harvesting and cooking or baking would injure the Light-Particles in the corn and

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[49] *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis* 10,4-6, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex (Über das Werden seines Leibes), Kritische Edition aufgrund der von A. Henrichs und L. Koenen besorgten Erstedition,* herausgegeben und übersetzt von L. Koenen und Cornelia Römer, Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sonderreihe, Papyrologica Coloniensia, Vol. XIV (Opladen, 1988) 7.

[50] von Le Coq, *Miniaturen,* pl. 7b.

[51] Klimkeit, *Art,* 38-39.

[52] Ed. Geng Shimin, "Notes on an ancient Uighur official decree issued to a Manichaean monastery", *Central Asiatic Journal* 35/3-4 (1991) 213 see also the edition of T. Moriyasu, *A study on (sic) the history of Uighur Manichaeism - research on some Manichaean materials and their historical background* (in Japanese), Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters of Osaka University 31-32 (Osaka, 1991) 43. [See detailed study below, pp. 76-97.]

[53] von Le Coq, *Miniaturen,* pl. 8b/a and Moriyasu, op. cit., pl. XVIa.

vegetables, they were totally dependent on their Hearers for their daily sustenance. On the other hand, the Hearers needed the intercession of the Electi to shorten the cycle of birth-death to which they, as believers of the second rank, were subjected. Confession of sins to the Electi was one way in which the Hearers acknowledged their inferior position. This is skilfully expressed in a miniature with two Hearers kneeling in penitence before two out-sized Electi – the difference in size between Elect and Hearer was clearly exaggerated to underscore the difference in status between the two classes.[54] In another miniature we have what appears to be a judgement scene with an Elect raising an accusing finger at a Hearer, clad only in an Indian *dhoti* but with the head of an ox hanging round his neck – a reminder perhaps of the consequences of the slaughter of animals which was permitted to the Hearers but with the consequence that they would reincarnate in the form of the animals they had killed.[55] This Manichaean concept of rebirth, which was probably of Buddhist origin, appears to have also been preached in the West, as the term μετενσωματώσις (reincarnation) is found in the newly discovered "Prayer of the Emanations" from Kellis, instead of the more common Manichaean technical term μεταγγισμός (transmigration of souls).[56]

The high quality of execution of both the miniatures and the calligraphy of the Manichaean texts attests to an active scribal tradition in Turfan and this finds expression in what can only be termed a group-self-portrait of Manichaean Electi performing scribal duties. Seated in two rows in front of two Trees of Life, they are shown to be engaged in their craft with intense expressions. Two of the figures hold a pen in each hand – one perhaps for copying in black ink and the other for red as many of the extant Manichaean text fragments are two-toned (see, for example, M1).[57] As Manichaeism was a religion of the book, the Manichaeans took their scribal duties very seriously. A monk is required in a Sogdian confessional to ask for forgiveness for having neglected his calligraphy, for hating or despising it and for having damaged or injured a brush, a writing board, a piece of silk or paper (BBB 524-30).[58] On the reverse of this miniature-fragment is portrayed a group of musicians, one playing an instrument resembling the Chinese *p'i-p'a* 琵琶, an instrument which came to China from India via

[54] von Le Coq, *Miniaturen*, pl. 7a.
[55] Ibid. pl. 8b/d.
[56] Line 110, cf. Jenkins, art. cit., p. 252.
[57] Moriyasu, op. cit., pls XXI-XXII.
[58] Ed. W. B. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, APAW (Berlin, 1936) 33-34.

Central Asia. Music certainly played a major role in the religious life of the Manichaeans. Many of the hymns would have been sung to set tunes and with accompaniment, as indicated by the fact that some of the extant hymn-texts are cantillated.[59]

The trail of discovery of Manichaean material from Central Asia did not end with the German expeditions. The region has been the subject of a number of archaeological expeditions by Chinese scholars and one led by Huang Wen-pi 黃文弼 brought back, *inter alia*, a long document in Old Turkish which contains the *regula* of a group of Manichaean monasteries in the Turfan region.[60] Chance discoveries of Manichaean texts by local inhabitants are still taking place. One major find which has emerged in the last decade is a well-preserved series of scrolls in Sogdian script entitled "To the great radiant majesty of the Mozak (=teacher)".[61] The work, which contains letters and private documents, is currently being deciphered by Dr. Yutaka Yoshida. One wall-painting in Bäzäklik with the symbol of a three-stemmed tree, which was noted by Grünwedel but escaped removal to Berlin by von Le Coq, has subsequently been identified as Manichaean.[62] The painting, still *in situ* in Cave 25, is in a poor state of conservation and we are dependent on the excellent reconstruction by Jacovleff for many important details.[63] Excavation in Cave 38 (= Cave 25 Grünwedel) since 1989 has revealed a remarkable series of Manichaean paintings covered by Buddhist murals on walls built to reset the Manichaean cave. These include pictures of female Hearers and winged guardian deities. The Manichaean origins of these paintings are confirmed by dedicatory inscriptions in Uighur.[64] The Manichaean cave appears to have been built inside an earlier Buddhist one, an indication of the constant religious change to which the region was subjected in the three centuries prior to the Islamic conquest.[65] Cave 38 is not alone in yielding examples of Manichaean wall-paintings. Since 1987, Prof. Chao Hua-shan 晁華山 of the Department of Archaeology

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[59] See e.g. M64, cf. *HR ii*, 92-93.

[60] Cf. P. Zieme, "Ein uigurischer Text über die Wirtschaft manichäischer Klöster im uigurischen Reich", in L. Ligetti (ed.), *Researches in Altaic Languages* (Budapest, 1975) 331-38; S. N. C. Lieu "Precept and practice in Manichaean monasticism", *JTS* 32/1 (1981) 153-73 [hereafter Lieu, *Precept*, see below pp. 76-97]; Geng, op. cit, *passim* and Moriyasu, op. cit., pp. 38-46.

[61] Moriyasu, op. cit., pl. XVIIb

[62] Cf. Klimkeit, *Art*, 31-32.

[63] *Ap.* J. Hackin, *Recherches archéologiques en Asie Centrale* (Paris, 1936) pl.1. See also Moriyasu, op. cit., pl. II.

[64] Moriyasu, op. cit., pls. III-V, transcription and trans. on p. 20.

[65] Ibid. 11-12.

of Beijing University, has systematically surveyed the two hundred or so grottoes in the surrounding regions of Turfan with a view to identifying further traces of Manichaean sites. Such a survey is long overdue as much more is now known about Manichaean art and symbolism than in the pioneering days of Grünwedel and von Le Coq. Chao conducted his search on the assumption that the large number of Manichaean text fragments recovered by the German explorers must be reflected by a far greater number of sites. His preliminary research has shown that there are more than seventy sites that were once Manichaean than had previously been recorded. Thirty-nine of them have yielded what he believes to be irrefutable evidence of Manichaean art or architectural design (eleven at Tuyoq, nineteen at Bäzäklik and nine at Sangim) and thirty or so others are in need of further investigation. The most clearly discernible and remarkable Manichaean symbol Chao has identified is that of the Two Trees at Cave 4 at Sangim. The two trees are intertwined, one carrying luxuriant foliage and the other barren and fruitless.[66] This corresponds almost exactly to the comparison of the Kingdoms of Light and Darkness (the two principles) with the Good and the Evil Trees as found in a Manichaean work cited by Severus of Antioch in a Cathedral Homily which, originally composed in Greek, has survived only in Syriac translations (*v. supra*):

> [The Tree of Life] is decorated with all that is beautiful and with all shining splendours, which is filled and clothed with all that is good, which stands fast and does not vacillate in its nature: its earth includes three regions, that of the North which is external and below, [that] of the East and [that] of the West, external and below. Below is not something that has been submerged by it or clothed on one side or another, but infinity is outside and below. No foreign body is around it [the Tree of Life] or below it, nor at an[other] place of the three regions, but its own is below and outside, to the North, to the East and to the West. There is nothing which surrounds and encloses it on one of the three sides. But it is in itself, of itself and to itself, it concludes its fruits within itself. And the Kingdom consists of it.[67]
>
> The Tree of Death, however, according to his nature has no life, and equally few fruits of goodness on one of his branches. He is always in the southern region. He has his own place, where he is.[68]
>
> The Tree of Death is divided into many [trees]. War and cruelty rule in them, peace is a stranger [to them]. But they are full of all wickedness and never have good fruits. He [the Tree of Death] is divided and stands in

[66] I am supremely grateful to Prof. Chao for sending me summaries of his remarkable discoveries both in Chinese and in English and a fine coloured photograph of the wall-painting of the "Two Trees" from Cave 4 at Sangim.

[67] Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 123, *PO* 29, p. 154,7-18, ed. Brière.

[68] Ibid. 154,26-156,8.

> contrast to his fruits, and the fruits in contrast to the tree. They are not at one with him who produced them, but they all produce the worm for the destruction of their place. They are not subject to him, who produced them, but the whole tree is bad. It never does any good and each individual part destroys what is nearby.[69]

That the two trees are depicted as intertwined, according to Chao, represents another major theme in Manichaean cosmogony, that of the Three Moments. The trees are initially separated, then they are mixed and then separated once more.[70] Depictions of the Tree of Life and of wine-grapes – the latter being a symbol of the Manichaean church[71] – also appear in Cave 2 of of the so-called North Mosque complex at Sangim. The architecture of the entire cave-temple complex is of immense interest. Chao's preliminary survey has shown that it is built on five terraces (the Manichaean Bēma has five steps), the first tier consisting of five halls which Chao believes were used for storing the scriptures, fasting, confession and convalescence. Regulation for such a five-fold arrangement of rooms is found in the "Fragment Pelliot" (the last section of the *Compendium* from Dunhuang):[72]

> (84) 寺宇儀第五
> (85) 經圖堂一 齋講堂一 禮懺堂一 教授堂一
> (86) 病僧堂一
>
> On the buildings of the monastery:
> One room for the scriptures and images.
> One room for fasting and preaching.
> One room for worship and confession.
> One room for religious instructions.
> One room for sick monks.

Chao dates some of the sites to as early as the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. This explains how the *Compendium*, which was translated into Chinese by imperial decree in 731, came to contain such clear instructions on the lay-out of a monastery. As Sangim alone has five sites identified as Mani-

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[69] Ibid. 162.6-13.

[70] Chao Hua-shan, "New evidence of Manichaeism in Asia: A description of some recently discovered Manichaean Temples in Turfan", *Monumenta Serica* 44 (1996) 273-84.

[71] See e.g. *Ps.-Bk.*, p. 13,22. See also references collected in V. Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache des Manichäismus* (Köln–Leiden, 1978) 40-42.

[72] S3969 *Mo-ni kuang-fu chiao-fa i-lueh* 摩尼光佛教法議略 lines 84-86. French translation by N. Tajadod, *Mani le Bouddha de Lumière – Catéchisme manichéen chinois*, Sources gnostiques et manichéennes 3 (Paris, 1990) 61.

chaean temples, the religion was clearly well-established in the Turfan region at the time of its entry into China and certainly before the establishment of the Second Uighur Kingdom at Chotcho, which brought with it imperial patronage for the religion and the building of Manichaean temples within the city of Chotcho. Further work on the cave-temples is clearly called for and joint-investigations by German and Chinese scholars are being planned.

5. *The publication of the texts from Turfan*

(a) Middle Iranian

The publication of the Manichaean texts in Middle Iranian was continued by Müller while the Second Expedition was still in progress, although not on quite the same scale as his seminal monograph of 1904.[73] In the following year, he presented before the Prussian Academy a short work containing the text and transcription of a Manichaean text in Middle Persian (M97), which contains extracts from the Ninth Similitude of the enigmatic early Christian work, the *Shepherd of Hermas*.[74] As Manichaeism was then still seen exclusively as an Iranian religion, the significance of such a well-known Christian work among the Manichaeans in Central Asia was hardly noted. Now with the decipherment of the *Cologne Mani-Codex*, we are much more aware of the Jewish-Christian roots of the religion. The Manichaeans utilised the work probably because of its emphasis on repentance. What cannot be so easily explained is how the Manichaeans gained access to a work which, though well attested within Christian circles in the Roman Empire, was not known to have been translated into Syriac – the language which gave the Manichaeans access to Christian literature.[75] A more substantial contribution by Müller is his edition of a double page from Manichaean hymn-book (M1, more commonly referred to as *Mahrnāmag*, Pe. "hymn-book").[76] One page contains what the editor believed to be the introduction to the hymn-book and the other the index of *incipits* of the hymns. This would later prove to be an invaluable tool in the identification

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[73] I.e. *HR* ii.

[74] "Eine Hermas-Stelle in manichäisher Version", *SPAW* 1905, 1077-83.

[75] L. Cirillo, '"Hermae Pastor" and "Revelatio Manichaica"; Some Remarks', in G. Wiessner & H.-J.Klimkeit (edd.), *Studia Manichaica; II. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus, 6-10. August, St. Augustin/Bonn* (Wiesbaden, 1992) 189-90.

[76] *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Mahrnâmag)* APAW 1912.

of hymn-fragments from the manuscript collection. The "Introduction" gives a highly personal account of the endeavours of one devout member of the sect to restore the book:[77]

> In the year 546 after the birth of the Apostle of Light, (i.e. 762 CE), (that is) now the year [486], when he (i.e. Mani) was raised up in power, and in the year 162 after the raising (i.e. redemption) of the benevolent Šād-Ohrmizd (it was) that this book of hymns was begun, which is full of living words and beautiful hymns.
>
> The scribe who began it at the command of the spiritual superiors was not able to finish it; therefore, since he could not devote himself (to the work) and had no time, he wrote a little, (only) a few hymns and did not complete it.
>
> For many years it remained in place uncompleted. It lay about and was deposited in the monastery of Ark (= Karašahr). When I, Yazdāmad the preacher, saw the book of hymns lying about, incomplete and useless, I commanded my beloved child, the dear son Naxurēgrōšn (lit. "Firstborn of the Lights") to complete it, so that it would help the faith to increase, (that it should become) a book of hymns in the hands of the children of faith, of the new pupils, that souls might thereby be purified and that from it doctrine, wisdom, instruction and virtue should be taught.
>
> So now, by the blessing of Yazd Māri Aryān-šā, the new teacher and good sign, and by the blessing of Mār Dōšist, the bishop, and by the good guidance of Mar Yišō Aryamān (lit. "Jesus the Friend"), the presbyter and by the hard work of the brilliant preacher Yazdāmad, and further by the zeal and the work and the effort of Naxurēgrōšn, who worked with a warm heart and loving mind and who, with (other) scribes wrote them (= the hymns) day and night, until everything was perfect and complete ...
>
> And I, Naxurēgrōšn, , was involved in the preparation, ordering and writing for the sake of this book ...

Sundermann has rightly cast doubt on Müller's suggestion that the double-page once constituted the beginning and end of a hymn-book, with the in-between pages now missing. There are simply too many hymns listed in the index for them to be enfolded by a double page. Instead Sundermann argues that the double-sheet was folded in the opposite direction to that suggested by Müller, with the end of the index followed by the "Introduction", which was in fact a colophon.[78] This observation, which makes excellent sense, means that the lines of Müller's text have to be completely renumbered. The colophon pays homage to a long list of Uighur princes and princesses who were undoubtedly patrons of religion in the Uighur kingdom of Chotcho, in

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[77] Ibid. pp. 15-17.

[78] Sundermann, *Completion*, 72.

which Manichaeism was the religion of the court for almost two centuries. The same theme is also captured in a Middle Persian text with Turkish names and titles published first by Müller as an appendix to *Maḥrnāmag* and later more fully studied in an article in the *Festschrift* for Wilhelm Thomsen (MIK III 6371).[79] The text is a colophon in praise for Bögü Khan, the Uighur Khaghan who first embraced Manichaeism, and his court, composed after 762, which indicates that even at this late date Middle Persian was still one of the main liturgical languages of the sect in Central Asia (transliterations of the Turkish after Müller):[80]

> [The angels] with your own ones, the helpers, may they themselves protect and guard the whole community of the Hearers; first and foremost the great ruler, the great majesty, the good, the blessed, worthy of the two blisses, of the two lives, of the two dominions: of the body and of the soul, the Ruler of the East, the preserver of the religion, helper of the righteous, the Hearer, the radiant one, the wearer of the diadem, the ruler of praised and blessed name, the Great King who has received majesty from God (or Heaven), heroic, majestic, famed, wise Uighur Khaghan, the offspring of Mani.
>
> And in addition to that the ... great protectors (?) and generals of the happy ruler. Firstly the Il Ugasi Nigoschakapat (= leader of the Hearers, Sgd. *nγwš'kpt*) the Il Ugasi Jagan-Savag Tutuch (= Chinese, *tu-tu* 都督), the Il Ugasi Otur Buila Tarchan. And also the Tutuch (titled ones): Tapmisch Qutlug Tutuch, Tschiig Tutuch; and the Tschigschi (titled ones): Waga Tschigischi, Jagan Oz Tschigischi, Tudun Tschigischi, ... Tschangschi, Kul Sangun Tirak, Inamtschu Bilga Tirak. In addition, the Builas: Tapmisch Buila Tarchan, Aschpada (Aschpara?) Buila. May they all live unharmed, at the end may they attain the reward of the devout in eternity. (Thus) may it come to pass! – Further, the eminent palace officials, who, before the pious ruler, carry out their service. Firstly Otur Buila Tarchan, Qutlug Itschraki ... Tapmisch, Ina(ntschu) ... Qutlug T ...

Müller also directed his linguistic skills and learning to texts of other religions from Turfan of which those of the Christians from Shuï-pang, a settlement near Bulayïq, a town about ten kilometres north of Turfan, were of particular significance to Manichaean studies. The majority of these texts were written in a clear Syriac script then still in common use by Nestorian Christians in Iraq, but only a few of these texts were actually in the Syriac

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[79] Cf. Müller, "Der Hofstaat eines Uiguren-Königs", *Festschrift Vilhelm Thomsen* (Leipzig, 1912) 207-13. See also H.-J. Klimkeit, *Hymnen und Gebete der Religion des Lichts. Iranische und türkische liturgische Texte der Manichäer Zentralasiens*, Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 79 (Opladen, 1989) 196. [Herafter Klimkeit, *Hymnen*.]

[80] Müller, op. cit., pp. 208-11.

language. Other texts were in a cursive script and fragments in Book Pahlavi and even one line in Greek from Psalm 32.1 according to the Septuagint: Ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, δίκαιοι, ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ.[81] Shuï-pang was undoubtedly the site of a former Christian monastery, judging from the range of Christian literature displayed by the fragments and from the fact that some of the texts were later identified as acts of Christian martyrs in Persia and as classics of *ascetica* such as the *Apophthegmata Patrum.* It did not take Müller long to realise from easily recognisable proper names that some of the text-fragments in Syriac script were translations into a hitherto undeciphered Middle Iranian language of the *Peshitta*, the Syriac version of the Bible. With the help of the original Syriac text he was able to decode the new language which he subsequently named Sogdian at the suggestion of the Iranologist, F. C. Andreas, on the basis of certain morphological changes from Old Iranian into the Sogdian dialect noted by the medieval Arabic *savant* al-Biruni.[82] In 1907 he published a fragment from the Epistle to the Galatians and from Luke I:63-80,[83] and later, two substantial collections of Christian Sogdian texts, including fragments of a text containing the account of the Discovery of the True Cross by Helena, the mother of Constantine, as well as more scriptural passages.[84] Sogdian was clearly one of the most common languages of the Silk Road. Besides Manichaean and Christian texts, a significant number of Buddhist texts in that language were also identified in the collections in Berlin, Paris and London; and some of them, like the famous *Sūtra of the Causes and Effects*, could be studied alongside the known Chinese versions of the same texts. Sogdian trading colonies were dotted along the main arteries of trade between Samarkand and the Chinese capital cities of Ch'ang-an and Lu-yang. Sogdians also ventured south to India as evidenced by the hundreds of examples of graffiti left by Sogdian traders along the banks of the Gilgit and Hunza rivers on the Upper Indus Valley.[85]

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[81] N. Sims-Williams, "Syro-Sogdica I: an anonymous homily on the three periods of solitary life", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 47 (1981) 442.

[82] Mentioned by Müller in *Uigurica I*, APAW 1908, §a, 2, n. 3

[83] I. e. F. W. K. Müller, "Neutestamentliche Bruchstücke in soghdischer Sprache", *SPAW* 1907, 260-270.

[84] I. e. F. W. K. Müller, *Soghdische Texte I*, APAW 1912/2 and "Soghdische Texte II. Aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von Wolfgang Lentz", *SPAW* 1934, 504-607.

[85] Cf. N. Sims-Williams, *Sogdian and other Iranian Inscriptions of the Upper Indus* I, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum II/3 (London, 1989) and *Sogdian and other Iranian Inscriptions of the Upper Indus,* II, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum II/3 (London, 1992). [Hereafter Sims-Williams, *Upper Indus.*]

The establishment in 1912 of the Orientalische Kommission by the Prussian Academy guaranteed continuity for the study and systematic publication of the texts from Turfan. Müller, one of the six founding members, began to direct his energies and skills to the study of Buddhist texts in Uighur. However, as a Fellow of the Prussian Academy, he was also permitted to lecture at the Friedrich-Wilhelm Universität in Berlin where his lectures and his prodigious learning attracted a small circle of devoted students, the most outstanding among whom was A. von Gabain, who would later become a leading authority on pre-Islamic Turkish.[86]

The domination of the study of the texts from Turfan by German scholars in Berlin continued well after the end of the expeditions. The only significant contribution to the study of the newly discovered text fragments by an English-speaking scholar was the American Sanskritist and Iranologist A. V. W. Jackson. He republished a number of important texts on Manichaean cosmogony with more detailed commentaries.[87] He used throughout the transcription system initialled by Müller and his work is particularly useful for scholars who have difficulty in gaining access to the St. Petersburg fragments published by Salemann which were transcribed into Hebrew letters. In Germany, though Berlin was undoubtedly the main centre for research on Manichaean texts, a group of younger researchers also gathered round F. C. Andreas, one of the most distinguished Iranological scholars of his time, at Göttingen. Among them was W. Lentz, who became Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter at the Kommission in 1924, and when a long hymn-scroll in Chinese containing phonetically transcribed hymns from Iranian was identified among the Dunhuang manuscripts in the Stein collection in London (*v. supra*) a year later, Lentz and the eminent Buddhologist, E. Waldschmidt, were invited to work jointly on it. In the two major studies which emerged from their joint research, Lentz published a number of Manichaean fragments, mainly hymns, in Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian accompanied by detailed studies on eastern Manichaean *technici termini*.[88] Another of Andreas' outstanding pupils was W. B. Henning. Upon Andreas' death, the Prussian Academy appointed Henning in

[86] Cf. A. von Gabain, "Die erste Generation der Forscher an den Turfan-Handschriften", in H. Klengel, and W. Sundermann, W. (edd.), *Ägypten – Vorderasien – Turfan. Probleme der Edition und Bearbeitung altorientalischer Handschriften,* Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients 23 (Berlin, 1991) 101. [Hereafter von Gabain, *Die erste Generation.*]

[87] *Researches in Manichaeism, with special reference to the Turfan fragments*, Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series 13 (New York, 1932).

[88] See now E. Morano, "The Sogdian hymns of *Stellung Jesu*", *East and West*, 32 (1982) 9-43

1932 to publish his "Nachlaß" which subsequently appeared in three installments. The first of these is an edition of a number of more or less continuous pages from a codex containing a cosmogonic text (M7980-7984) which gives a particularly graphic account of the role of Manichaean demons in the creation of Man and Woman and especially that of the demoness Az (greed).[89] Henning would later demonstrate that the text could be dated on the basis of certain clumsy up-dating of calendrical details to the early years of the reign of Shāpūr I which would make it a valuable example of early Manichaean writing – perhaps a work of Mani himself.[90] This is also supported by a number of forms of proper names such as Xradešahr Yazd (lit. God of the World of Wisdom, used to signify the eschatological Jesus) which it shares uniquely with that of the surviving fragments of the *Šābuhragān*, which as we have already noted, is a semi-canonical work of Mani.[91] The text also shows considerable affinity with M98-99, published originally by Müller, and may well be a continuation of the same text from different manuscripts.[92] This important edition, which contains a number of detailed theological and philological comments, was further strengthened by the publication of Henning's dissertation on the Middle Persian verb from the Manichaean texts from Turfan – a reference work which remains standard.[93] Henning, however, only published a handful of photographs of this important (canonical?) Manichaean text, but the photographs are at last available in a magnificent photo-edition of Manichaean texts published before the Second World War.[94] The second installment of texts from Andreas' "Nachlaß" contains a selection of fragments in Middle Persian on a wide variety of topics.[95] Of the greatest interest to historians of the religion

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[89] "Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan I", *SPAW* 10, 175-222.

[90] Ibid. 32-33.

[91] Cf. W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, Berliner Turfantexte 11 (Berlin, 1981) 92.

[92] E. M. Boyce, *A reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Acta Iranica 9 (Tehran–Liège, 1975) 60, *comm. ad* Text y.

[93] W. B. Henning, "Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfanfragmente", *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 9 (1933) 158-253.

[94] W. Sundermann (ed.), *Iranian Manichaean Turfan texts in early publications, Photo Edition,* Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Suppl. Series III (London, 1996), pls. 133-138. [Hereafter Sundermann, *Photo Edition.*] Much less satisfactory are those reproduced in M. Hutter, *Manis kosmogonische Šābuhragān-Texte. Edition, Kommentar und literaturgeschichtliche Einordnung der manichäisch-mittelpersischen Handschriften M98/99 I und M7980-7984,* Studies in Oriental Religions 21 (Wiesbaden, 1992) pls V-XX.

is a historical text (M2 I) which gives the account of the sending of two missionaries, Addā and Pattig, by Mani to the Roman Empire. They were said to have raised a certain important person called Npš' to the religion and Addā took the religion as far as Alexandria, choosing many for the faith and establishing Manichaean monasteries or cells. This caused considerable excitement among historians of Christian monasticism, as the date of the Manichaean mission pre-dated the establishment of Christian monasteries by more than half a century and the question of Manichaean influence on Christian monasticism in Egypt was inevitably raised and remains unresolved.[96]

In transcribing the texts of the first two collections, Andreas and Henning had adhered to the convention of using the Hebrew script established by Salemann and adapted by Lentz. As the Manichaean Estrangela script was derived from Aramaic such a convention seems logical and avoids the pitfalls of uncertain vocalisation. It was, however, (and still is) an enormous inconvenience to scholars of Manichaeism who are not familiar with the Hebrew script. For the third collection which consists almost entirely of texts from Parthian, Henning devised an unvocalised system of transcription – the use of the Hebrew script then being banned by the Germany's anti-Semitic laws – a system which gained wide acceptance and soon became standard. The third collection, like its predecessor, consists of texts on a variety of topics,[97] the most important of which is a discourse on the final salvation of the Light and its return to the Paradise (M2 II). The complex theological issues and the awkwardness of the style suggest that the text was probably from a canonical work of Mani which was translated into Parthian. Of the more important texts in this collection are accounts of Mani's "martyrdom" in prose (M5569) and in verse (M5). An excellent example both of late Parthian prose and of the influence of Buddhist literary style on Manichaean literature is a fictitious letter to Mār Ammō, the pioneer-missionary, commissioned by Mani to evangelise the lands east of the Oxus (M5815 I).

In 1932 the Prussian Academy would once more play host to another major discovery of Manichaean texts: this time the texts were in Coptic and they had been found three years previously by workmen digging for fertiliser

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[95] "Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II", *SPAW* 7 (1934) 294-363.

[96] Cf. Lieu, *Precept*, 155-59. [See below, pp. 77-87.].

[97] "Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan III", *SPAW* 27 (1934) 848-912

in Medînet Mâdi in Egypt.[98] The find consists of a library which had once belonged to either a Manichaean Hearer or group of Hearers (as it contains only one canonical work – the Letters of Mani). The eight codices were split between a number of dealers but all of them were eventually purchased by either Prof. Carl Schmidt for the Prussian Academy or by Chester Beatty for his own manuscript collection in London (now in Dublin). However, the latter allowed the texts in his possession to be conserved and studied in Berlin and for the entire find to be published in Germany. As Schmidt had no interest in Manichaeism, the work of the decipherment of the newly discovered texts largely fell on his young colleague, Hans Jakob Polotsky, a former pupil of Andreas, who had already established himself as the leading semitic philologist of his generation. Henning had by then moved to Berlin and was a lodger with Polotsky's mother. The coming to power of National Socialism induced Polotsky, who was Jewish, to take up a teaching position in Egyptology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in the same year as the completion of his outstanding edition of the Manichaean *Homilies* from the Medînet Mâdi-find.[99] His work on the first part of the *Kephalaia* from the same collection was acknowledged only in passing in the publication because of the Nuremburg Laws. Henning, who by then was engaged to Polotsky's sister, accepted in 1937 the invitation to succeed H. W. Bailey as the Parsee Community's Lecturer in Iranian Studies at the School of Oriental Studies in London. In the years prior to his emigration he had turned his attention to a small Manichaean codex (M801) which contains a long confessional text in Parthian and Sogdian. He began learning Sogdian in 1935 and although he only had the results of Lentz and of scholars of Buddhist and Christian Sogdian to draw on, his skills in comparative philology were such that he was able to complete in the astonishingly short time of one year an *editio major* of the text with a full

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[98] C. Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten*, *SPAW* 1933, 5-7.

[99] *Manichäische Homilien*, (Stuttgart, 1933, actually published in 1934). Polotsky was not invited to take the Chair of Egyptology at Jerusalem as is often assumed or suggested. His first position at the Hebrew University was that of "instructor" and he "must surely have been the internationally most celebrated assistant lecturer anywhere". (E. Ullendorff, "H. J. Polotsky (1905-1991): Linguistic genius", *JRAS* (1994) 7.). It was not until 1949 that he was promoted to Associate Professor and then immediately to Professor (*ibid*).

philological commentary[100] – both of which remain unsurpassed and the work is rightly hailed as a "Bible" for students of Manichaean Sogdian.[101]

Henning was interned as an enemy alien by the British authorities at the outbreak of the war in Europe. His valuable study of Sogdian lists (of points of doctrine, calendar-days etc., i.e. mnemonic catalogues for an oral tradition) and of glossaries in which Middle Persian and Parthian words are explained in Sogdian was seen through the press by H. W. Bailey.[102] Henning was released within a year on the grounds of his delicate health, and, in the more tranquil atmosphere of Cambridge to which the School of Oriental Studies had moved, a stream of minor editions of Manichaean historical texts on the last days of Mani and the fragments of the canonical *Book of the Giants* in all three Middle Iranian dialects appeared.[103] In 1947 the title of Professor of Central Asian Studies was conferred on him by London University and among his earliest pupils was Ilya Gershevitch who would compile a grammar of Manichaean Sogdian.[104] Another scholar Henning was able to "divert" to Middle Iranian studies in the immediate post-war years was Mary Boyce, who would later become Professor of Iranology at the School of Oriental and African Studies and who had then just begun a university teaching and research career in Anglo-Saxon in London University (1944-46). Boyce undertook as the topic for her Cambridge doctoral dissertation (completed in 1947) an edition of the Manichaean hymn-cycles in Parthian.[105] Henning had already drawn attention to these hymn-cycles and their popularity among the Manichaeans of Central Asia as evidenced by translations of them into Chinese[106] and he

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[100] *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, APAW 10 (1936).

[101] I. Gershevitch. "W.B. Henning, 1908-1967, in memoriam" in E. M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch (edd.), *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume* (London, 1970) xi.

[102] *Sogdica*, James Forlong Fund Prize Publications 21 (London, 1940). [Hereafter, Henning, *Sogdica*.]

[103] Mani's last journey", *BSOAS* 10/4 (1942) 941-53 and "The Book of the Giants", ibid. 11/1 (1943) 52-74.

[104] *A Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian*, Publications of the Philological Society (Oxford, 1961).

[105] *Manichaean Hymn-Cycles in Parthian*, London Oriental Series 3 (Oxford, 1954). See also eadem, "Some remarks on the present state of the Iranian Manichaean MSS from Turfan, together with additions and corrections to "Manichaean Hymn Cycles in Parthian", *MIO* 4/2 (1956) 314-22.

[106] Henning, *ap.* Tsui Chi "Mo-ni-chiao hsia-pu-tsan. The lower (second?) section of the Manichaean hymns", *BSOAS* 11 (1943) 174-215 (with annotations by W. B. Henning) 218-19.

later also identified versions of them in Old Turkish.[107] Boyce's edition remains a classic in its field and has now been supplemented by an edition by Sundermann of further fragments and photographic reproductions of all the text fragments including those of texts originally published by Boyce.[108] The latter also published a number of important Parthian text-fragments in prose and poetry on Manichaean cosmogony.[109]

For the duration of the war in Europe, the Turfan fragments, by now almost all under glass, were placed in safe storage. After the cessation of hostilities they were returned to the Orientalische Kommission at 8 Unter den Linden, Berlin, which was then a bombed-out building. Subsequently, there was some theft of glass, a precious commodity in immediate post-war Berlin. This led to some, though not a major, loss of texts. A tragic loss, however, was two of the more important of the manuscripts of the texts published by Henning in his 1934 collection and in his article on Mani's last journey (i.e. M2 and M3), but fortunately excellent photographs of these texts exist in Göttingen.[110]

Although most of the Turfan texts were returned to Berlin (East), one crate of texts together with the photographs, card-catalogue and other written records found its way to the BRD and were eventually housed at the Akademie der Wissenschaften at Mainz and later transferred to Marburg, but with photographic versions available at Hamburg. As this could not be reunited with the texts in Berlin, an urgent task confronting the researchers of Manichaean texts in Middle Iranian in the post-War years was the compilation of a systematic catalogue of the fragments in both halves of a divided Germany. Moreover, the conflicting systems of numbering of the fragments in publications were causing numerous problems to scholars who had no direct access to the texts. Many of the fragments were assigned similar or identical numbers at the time of discovery (such as T I α or T II K, T standing for Turfan Expedition, I & II for the Expedition number, α and K for Complex-α and -K respectively) which was a constant source of confusion, especially when some fragments earlier in the Second Expedition were give the more general signature of T II D (D = Dakianus-stadt, i.e. (anywhere in) Chotcho). There were more than a hundred fragments bearing

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[107] "A fragment of the Manichaean hymn-cycle in Old Turkish", *Asia Major,* N.S. 7 (1959) 122-24.

[108] *The Manichaean Hymn cycles Huyadagmān and Angad Rōšnān in Parthian and Sogdian*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Suppl. Series 2 (London, 1990).

[109] E. M. Boyce, "Sadwēs and Pēsūs" *BSOAS* 13 (1951) 908 -15 and "Some Parthian abecedarian hymns", ibid. 14 (1952) 435-50.

[110] These are now published in Sundermann, *IMTT*, pls. 3-6.

the signature of T II K with nothing to distinguish between them.[111] The reason for the lack of a precise indication of the provenance of the fragments is that the early explorers, in order to save time, did not write down the location of the fragments but stuffed the ones they had themselves discovered or had bought from the natives into envelopes which were later labelled with a collective signature. Some of the texts were subsequently found to have been assigned the wrong abbreviation indicating their place of discovery. For instance, a book-scroll containing two hundred and two lines of a parable-book in Sogdian is said to have been discovered by the Second Expedition at Chotcho as it bears the signature of T II D 2. However, additional fragments of the same text have recently been found bearing signatures which indicate they were found at Tuyoq by the Second (T II T 1184) and even the Third Expedition (T III T 601 and T III 2015)! This has led Prof. Sundermann to suspect that the signature of T II D 2 for the main scroll is incorrect, as it is most unlikely that the same text would have been torn up and taken to another site some fifteen kilometres distant and hidden so that they could be found by a later expedition. It is more probable that the main scroll and the fragments were all found by the Third Expedition at Tuyoq, a site which yielded a number of Sogdian texts which are characterised by a declining command of the language and strong Buddhist influences in both style and literary format. The T II D signature was given to the scroll following the simple rule that if in doubt, try T II D because of its vagueness and because so many Manichaean texts were found by the Second Expedition at Chotcho.[112]

For his pioneering publication of the Middle Iranian texts of 1904, Müller introduced a system of numbering the fragments with a signature of M (= text in Manichaean script) followed by a number. This had the benefit of simplicity but gives no information as to the place of discovery of the fragments. His numbering stopped at M919 and later scholars used both M-numbers and site-signatures in citing the texts. Various experiments at systematic numbering of the fragments by members of the Kommission were made, but as none went beyond a few hundred fragments, the new numbers, some of which were inadvertently duplicated, only served to increase the confusion. A decision was made at an informal meeting of the main researchers of the Turfan material in Middle Iranian to continue the work of cataloguing all the texts with M-numbers. The task was brought to a successful conclusion in 1960 with the publication of Boyce's catalogue

[111] Boyce, *Cat.* 123-29.
[112] Sundermann, *Completion* 285-86.

of all fragments in the Manichaean script then available to her either in the original or in photographic collections. Her work, which gives brief descriptions of the condition and content of the text fragments, place(s) of publication and bibliography of emendations, retranslations *etc.*, remains one of the most essential tools in Manichaean research.[113] The fact that it is now in urgent need of revision because of the discovery of texts which had escaped her notice at the time of compilation only serves to underline the work's fundamental importance.

In the course of cataloguing the manuscripts Boyce also came across a text (M1224) on leather in Manichaean script but in a hitherto unknown language. This has since been identified by Henning as a unique specimen of Manichaean Bactrian, the language of the Indo-Greeks and of the former Kushan Kingdom. The decipherment of the text was later entrusted to Gershevitch whose still unpublished edition shows that the text deals with the problem which would have undoubtedly vexed the minds of many Electi, *viz.* how they could jusufy the practice of "soul-service" – i.e. their needing to be cared for by their Hearers for their daily needs. The recto of the fragment gives an *apologia* for the practice which shows much greater ingenuity than that offered by the *Fragmenta Tebestina*, the sole extant Manichaean document in Latin (found in a cave near Tebessa, modern Theveste in Algeria) which compares the calling of the two classes to the predilections of Martha and Mary in the Gospels. Just like gardens and orchards which need water to produce flowers and plants, and like animals which need grass and water to produce milk, cheese and butter, the author of the Bactrian fragment argues that the Electi too need sustenance for a useful purpose. The gifts and services of the Hearer would bring forth *pwwn* (Pali *punya*, i.e. the blessing arising from good deeds; Chinese Buddhist *fu-te* 福德). Moreover, the Electi were to be equated with the Arhan (= the perfect man of the Hinayāna). The task of the Hearer in Iranian texts is *ruwānagān* which is commonly translated as "soul-service". Though *ruvan* (Avestan *ruvan-*) is the pan-Iranian word for "souls", the Iranian Manichaeans used the word *gryw* for soul in the term "Living Soul" (Pe. *gryw zyndg*, Pth. *gryw jywndg*). On the reverse of the Bactrian fragment, the word beauty (Bactrian *waβ* = Pe. *xwšn*) is used of the term "Living Soul" in a text which concerns the much avoided topic of the fate of the Hearer after death. This has led Gershevitch to make the important suggestion that the Iranian Manichaeans were following the Zoroastrians in employing the *ruvan* synonymously with *daēnā* – the personification of a person's soul which he would meet for

[113] I.e. Boyce, *Cat.*

the first time after his death in varying degrees of female beauty or ugliness depending on how he had lived his life. Thus, by naming the Living Spirit "Beauty", Manichaean missionaries were able to draw on Iranian religious tradition to hold out to the Hearer the promise of eternal union with a soul of matchless beauty. The Hearer, therefore, who is described as *huruwān* (= pious) is not merely someone who performs pious duty for the Living Spirit in his service to the Elect but someone who is in possession of a "beautiful" soul.[114]

Iranian Manichaean studies suffered a massive blow in Henning's premature death in 1967 as a result of complications following an accidental fall.[115] His last years were spent at Berkeley, California, where he had been Professor of Iranology since 1961. Few scholars possess his combination of linguistic genius and deep understanding of the intellectual and historical aspects of the religion and his unique experience of working with the original texts. His later publications cover a wide range of Iranological subjects and his last contributions to Manichaean studies, written mostly in the late 1940s and early 1950s, were mainly on texts in Sogdian, but these were often prefaced by highly perceptive studies of the historical development of the religion.[116] Boyce's research interest also shifted to Zoroastrianism and some of the planned joint projects advertised in the *Catalogue,*[117] as well as Henning's edition of *Mitteliranische Manichaica* IV,[118] were never published. However, Boyce performed a major and much valued task by bringing together all the main published fragments in Middle Persian and Parthian and providing them with an insightful introduction and

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[114] I. Gershevitch, "The Bactrian Fragment in Manichaean Script", in J. Harmatta (ed.), *From Hecataeus to Al-Ḫuwārizmī, Bactrian, Pahlavi, Sogdian, Persian, Sanskrit, Syriac, Arabic, Chinese, Greek and Latin Sources for the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (Budapest, 1984) 273-80 and idem, "Beauty as the Living Soul in Iranian Manichaeism", ibid. 281-88 and "The Manichaean Bactrian Fragment" (Text, translation and commentary), Paper delivered to the Second European Seminar on Central Asian Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies 1985 (unpublished).

[115] Cf. Boyce, "Obituary - Walter Bruno Henning", *BSOAS* 30/3 (1967) 785.

[116] "The murder of the Magi", *JRAS* 1944, 133-44, "Warucān-Šāh", *Journal of the Greater India Society* 11/2 (1944), 85-90, "Bráhman", *Transactions of the Philological Society,* 1944, 108-18, "The Manichaean fasts", *JRAS* 1945, 146-64, "Sogdian tales", *BSOAS* 11/3 (1945), 465-87, "Two Manichaean magical texts with an excursus on the Parthian ending -ēndēh", ibid. 12 (1947)-48 39-66, "A Sogdian fragment of the Manichaean cosmogony", ibid. pp. 306-18.

[117] Boyce, *Cat.* xxxviii.

[118] Ibid. p. 9.

notes which cover both matters philological and historical.[119] The *Reader* is particularly valuable for the access it gives to texts which are not easily available, such as those published by Müller, or those transcribed into Hebrew, like *Mitteliranische Manichaica* I and II, or those which are both inaccessible and in Hebrew script such as the works of Salemann. To this indispensable collection, which will long remain the standard introduction for those who wish to acquaint themselves with the original texts of the Manichaean fragments in Middle Iranian, Boyce added a word-list which, at the time of writing, is still the most comprehensive single list which is readily available to scholars.[120] It also contains a reverse-index compiled by Dr. R. Zwanziger to assist those who are working with the more lacunose original manuscripts. The two main draw-backs of this pair of books for the research scholar are (a) the original line-breaks (and therefore line numbers) are not given, which makes comparison with the original texts difficult and (b) the word-list is not also a word-index, as is standard in most publications of Manichaean texts. Several unofficial word-indices to this important collection have been made and the one compiled by Zwanziger on a main-frame computer at University College London has enjoyed considerable circulation among scholars but remains unpublished. Boyce's *Reader* is not accompanied by an English translation but a good number of the texts it contains had by then already been translated into English by the eminent Danish Iranologist, Prof. J. P. Asmussen[121] and more recently by the distinguished German Historian of Religion, Prof. H.-J. Klimkeit.[122] One can only hope that there will appear in the not too distant future a "Reader" of Manichaean texts in Sogdian. A colleague of Boyce's who subsequently became Professor Ordinarius in Iranology at Göttingen, Prof. D. N. MacKenzie, brought out a new edition of the fragments (with many additional ones) of the quasi-canonical *Šābuhragān* – one of the earliest works of Mani and one which we know to have been originally written in Middle Persian and not translated into that language. MacKenzie's edition was to some extent inspired by Boyce's *Reader* even if it appeared following

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[119] *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Acta Iranica 9 (Tehran–Liège, 1975). [Hereafter Boyce, *Reader*.]

[120] *A word-List in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Acta Iranica 9a (Tehran–Liège, 1977).

[121] *Manichaean literature, representative texts chiefly from Middle Persian and Parthian writings* (New York, 1975).

[122] *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia* (San Francisco, 1993). [Hereafter, Klimkeit, *Gnosis*.]

his disagreement with her arrangement of some of the fragments.[123] More fragments of this important work have since been identified and with the aid of mirror-writing impressions on some of the fragments and headlines, it is now possible to reconstruct almost a complete sequence of eighteen pages.[124] The high standard of Manichaean Studies established by Henning and Boyce at the School of Oriental and African Studies has been continued by Prof. N. Sims-Williams. An acknowledged expert on Sogdian texts, especially of Christian Sogdian texts, he has published in an important series of studies some Sogdian Manichaean texts from the British Library,[125] further fragments of the *Huyadagmān*,[126] and has republished a number of Sogdian fragments from St. Petersburg which, when joined together correctly, give a fascinating account of Mani's audience with a Magus at the court of the Shahanshah Hormizd the Bold - an account which helps to fill a vital gap in our knowledge of the religion after the death of its first major patron, Shāpūr I.[127]

Berlin (East), where most of the texts were housed at the Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, returned to the centre-stage of the study of Manichaean texts in Middle Iranian with a series of distinguised publications by Dr. (now Prof.) W. Sundermann of the then Akademie der Wissenschaften of the DDR. These begin with a valuable article on Christian gospel citations, especially those from non-canonical or apocryphal gospels and gospel-harmonies, found in Manichaean texts. The new material, which clearly deals with the trial and resurrection of Jesus the Messiah, adds much to the tantalising scraps first published by Müller (M132a and M18). One newly edited fragment gives an account of the trial of Jesus before the High Priest which shows the clear influence of the *Diatessarōn*, the most popular, and probably the only, gospel-harmony used

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123 "Mani's *Šābuhragān*", *BSOAS* 42/3 (1979) 500-34 and "Mani's *Šābuhragān* II", *ibid.* 43/2 (1980) 288-310.

124 W. Sundermann, "Recent work on Iranian Turfan Texts", *Journal of Central Asia (Journal of International Association for the study of the cultures of Central Asia),* 6/1 (1983) 105.

125 'The Sogdian fragments of the British Library', *Indo-Iranian Journal* 18 (1976) 43-82.

126 "A new fragment from the Parthian Hymn-cycle *Huyadagmān*" in *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard*, Studia Iranica - Cahier 7 (Paris, 1989) 321-31.

127 "The Sogdian Fragments of Leningrad II: Mani at the court of the Shahanshah", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 4 (1990) 281-88.

by Syriac-speaking Christians (M4570).[128] The launching of a major text-series, *Berliner Turfantexte*, in 1971 offered the researchers on the text fragments a convenient means of systematic publication. A major collection of cosmogonic and parable texts in Middle Persian and Parthian appeared in the series and it set a new standard with publication of photographs of all the fragments edited in the main text.[129] A second major collection, for which the editor was awarded the prestigious Ghirshman Prize, contains the long awaited church-history texts in Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian.[130] The editor had originally hoped to reconstruct a Eusebian version of Manichaean *Ecclesiastical History* but it soon became apparent to him that the historical accounts of early Manichaean mission are firmly embedded in a great variety of homiletic and parable texts. The texts extend very considerably our knowledge of early Manichaean mission. We now know that the election of Npš' to the religion took place probably at Palmyra. She was cured of an illness by Mār Addā and her sister was referred to as the wife of a *kysr*. Since the word *kysr* in Middle Iranian is almost always reserved for the Roman emperor, the only person in the frontier region who would qualify for such a title was Odaenathus, the husband of the redoubtable Zenobia.[131] Another Sogdian text gives us a graphic account of Mār Gabryab's adventures at the court of the King of Revan (= Erevan in Armenia) where his competitors for royal patronage were Christian priests![132] The collection also contains a fuller version of the *Diatessarōnic*-type text on the trial of Jesus (M4570). The new version furnishes the literary context which the earlier edition lacks. We can now see that it was not a stray page from a Christian gospel-harmony used by Manichaeans of Central Asia but rather a part of a homily on the martyrdom of Mani and the suffering of his followers which were equated by the author with the crucifixion of Christ:[133]

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[128] "Christliche Evangelientexte in der Überlieferung der iranisch-manichäischen Literatur", *MIO* 14 (1968) 386-405, esp. 390-91.

[129] *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Berliner Turfantexte 4 (Berlin, 1973). [Hereafter, Sundermann, *KPT*.]

[130] *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, Berliner Turfantexte 11 (Berlin, 1981). Of relevance are also his earlier studies on historical texts: "Zur frühen missionarischen Wirksamkeit Manis", *Acta Orientalia ... Hungaricae*, 24/1 (1971) 79-125, "Iranische Lebensbeschreibungen Manis", *Acta Orientalia*, 26 (Copenhagen 1974) 129-45

[131] *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, §3.3.

[132] Ibid. §3.4.

[133] Ibid. §4a.18.

Discourse on the crucifixion (*wyfr's d'rwbdgyftyg*)

... and he (Mani?) was unconscious and died. Such was the blessed death (Parinirvana) of (our) Father, as was written. No one should contemplate on anything more wonderful. Absolve us from all that had happened to him. As we all know when Jesus the Messiah (yyšwyc mšyh'h) the Lord of us all, was crucified, it was attested about him, that they seized him like a evil-doer. They also dressed him in a [purple] cloak and placed a cane in his hand. And they paid reverence to him and [mockingly?] spoke: ["... King], our Christ!" [A]nd they then led (him) to the cross (?). [... 3 lines ...] he was delivered to them, but if not [...] there are also others who [departed (?) from this world] through crucifixion. Many there [are...] who were put [to death] by the sword [... 3 lines ...]. [An]d there are those who went to distant lands and were killed when they got there. Every one of these messengers were well-known, for [we](?) are told about them: what they have endured and through what form of crucifixion (i.e. execution) they departed from this world. They also had some disciples who were thrown to the animals and others who were evicted from land to land. They were like strangers and enemies to the whole world and they were called the "deceived ones" and "ruined ones" in the whole world. And many are the temptations (?) [...] and they endured [...] (and) (?) themselves also taught [.....] alms. Even as our father, the [beneficent] [...] our [...] living, so also the Jews (similarly desired) to remove <him> from the world, as it is shown that at dawn, the teachers, the (Jewish) priests, the scribes and the religious leaders deliberated (*cf.* Luke 22:66) and took counsel from each other to kill him (*cf.* Matt. 27:1). And they sought (false witnesses), (*cf.* Matt. 26:59) but their testimony did not agree with each other (*cf.* Mark 14:59). They brought forward two others (*cf.* Matt. 26:60) and they said: 'This man had declared: "I am able to destroy the temple (lit. palace) (Pth. *'pdn* = Syr. *'pdn'* ܐܦܕܢܐ) which is built with hands and in three days build another one built without hands (*cf.* Mark 14:58)."' Their testimonies also do not tally (*cf.* Mark 14:59), and the High Priest asked him, saying: 'I demand of you, on oath to the living God, that you tell me, whether you are the Christ, the son of (God, the living (?))' (*cf.* Matt. 26:63). Jesus said to him, "First, you yourself have said that I am it (*cf.* Matt. 26:64) [...6 lines...] (truly) appears but from now on you will see the Son of Man as he sits on the right side of divine power (and) when he will come in the (chariot) from heaven" (*cf.* Matt. 26:64). Then the High Priest of the Jews [tore] his garment and said (*cf.* Mark 14:63): "To me" [...] and they spoke to one another: "[...] the testimony which is desired. We have heard again (?) [the blasphemy] from his own very lips (*cf.* Luke 22:71) [...thereupon] it is necessary to kill him" (*cf.* Matt. 26:66). [...2 lines...] Pilate [...]

The sequence of gospel-verses is very similar to that of the *Diaterssarōn* and the same could be proved of another Manichaean text in Parthian which contains an account of the visit of the women to the tomb of Jesus

(M18).[134] The text gives the names of the women: Mariam, Shalom and Arseniyāh (=Arsenoe). The latter, clearly a Greek name, is hitherto unattested in Christian literature but is interestingly found in a Coptic Manichaean text in which she is lauded along with Salome among a list of those who had responded to the call of Christ in the Gospel.[135] It is a great misfortune that due to the shortage of printing-paper in the then DDR, only a small number of this important collection of Manichaean church-history texts was published, making the edition of these fascinating texts almost as inaccessible to scholars as the original fragments themselves.

In addition to editing these text fragments, Sundermann also embarked on a major source-critical study of Manichaean historical material in all the languages in which they have survived. The result, a monograph published in three parts, opens many new windows to Manichaean research.[136] To my mind, one of his most important and far-reaching conclusions, and one which he has already detected in his study of the translation and transformation of the names of Manichaean deities and demons, is that a high proportion of Manichaean texts in Parthian can be traced back to Syriac rather than Middle Persian originals. The latter, in fact, use a distinctive vocabulary which is heavily influenced by Zoroastrianism, while texts in Parthian contain many more transliterations or translated terms from Syriac and borrowings from Christian literature. The fact that some of these Parthian texts were later translated into Middle Persian obscured its distinctive Syro-Christian tradition.[137] A common Syriac origin also explains why there are a number of striking parallels and unique common features between Manichaean texts in Coptic and Parthian, such as, for instance, the name Arsinoe referred to already. It also explains the presence of the large number of Syriac loan-words in Parthian texts, words which are rarely found in Middle Persian forms.[138]

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[134] Boyce, *Reader*, 126-27; W. Petersen, "An important unnoticed Diatessaronic reading in Turfan Fragment M-18" in T. Baarda, A. Hilhorst, G. P. Luttikhuizen and A. S. van der Woude (edd.) *Text and Testimony, Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A. F. J. Klijn* (Kampen, 1988) 190-91.

[135] *Ps.-Bk.* p. 192,24 and 194,22.

[136] "Studien zur kirchengeschichtlichen Literatur der iranischen Manichäer I", *AoF* 13/1 (Berlin 1986) 40-92, "II", ibid. 13/2 (1986) 239-317 and "III", ibid. 14/1, (1987) 41-107. [Hereafter, Sundermann, *Studien* I-III.]

[137] "Namen von Göttern, Dämonen und Menschen in iranischen Versionen des manichäischen Mythos", *AoF* 6 (Berlin, 1979) 114 and idem, *Studien* II, 298-302.

[138] See e.g. *MM* iii, 900, 907, 910-11.

An edition of a parable-book in Sogdian – a text which had been worked on earlier by Müller and Lentz - appeared in the series *Berliner Turfantexte* in 1985.[139] As mentioned above, Sundermann convincingly argues for Tuyoq rather than Chotcho as its place of origin. Its heavy use of Buddhist terminology and motifs and adoption of Buddhist literary style show a clear loss of identity of the religion in the last phase of its history in the Tarim Basin. The political reunification of Germany should, in theory, provide a major boost to Manichaean studies as the Turfan material in the former BRD could now be reunited with the main collection in Berlin. However, the swift imposition of an academic structure developed over the last four decades along regional lines on the highly centralised system which characterised the former DDR is not without problems and uncertainties. In spite of the consequent upheavals, the fourth of Sundermann's major collections of Manichaean texts in the *Berliner Turfantexte* series was published in a reunited Germany by what is now a commercial academic press at a price which puts it beyond the reach of many academic libraries in the West, let alone the individual scholar. This is particularly unfortunate as the texts in this latest collection, the fragments of the "Sermon of the Light-Mind", will be of great interest to scholars of Manichaean texts in all languages.[140] While editing the texts on cosmogony for his first collection, Sundermann had come to realise that two of the longer texts in Parthian bear an uncanny resemblance to the opening sections of the Chinese treatise ("Traité") published by Chavannes and Pelliot in 1911 and duly noted the parallels in his commentary.[141] Further research into the many text fragments given as "Traité"-type material in Boyce's *Catalogue* enabled him to compile a version of substantial parts of the sermon and also identify a number of related texts in Sogdian. The "Sermon of the Light-Mind" is clearly a didactic text of great importance judging by its popularity, and we now have versions of it in Parthian, Chinese, Turkish (see below) and Sogdian. In addition there is also a *kephalaion* on the same subject in Coptic (*Keph.* 38)[142] which exhibits a number of verbal and thematic

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[139] W. Sundermann, *Ein manichäisch-sogdisches Parabelbuch*, mit einem Anhang von Friedmar Geissler† über Erzählmotive in der Geschichte von den zwei Schlangen, Berliner Turfantexte 15 (Berlin, 1985). [Hereafter Sundermann, *Parabelbuch.*]

[140] *Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous, Eine Lehrschrift des östlichen Manichäismus, Edition der parthischen und sogdischen Version,* Berliner Turfantexte 17 (Berlin, 1992).

[141] Sundermann, *KPT* §§ 5, 6.

[142] *Kephalaia*, edd. and transs. H. J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig (Stuttgart, 1940ff.) 89-102.

similarities. It cannot be ruled out that the core of the work may stem from a work of Mani. It is also important to note that a work which is so clearly gnostic in outlook and blatant in its Christian-borrowings, especially the Pauline metaphor of Old and New Man, should have gained such widespread popularity among the far-flung communities of the sect whose members lived alongside (and often under) a variety of dominant religions.

A similar group of texts in Parthian and Sogdian belonging to the "Sermon on the Soul" currently worked on by Sundermann is similar to the "Sermon of the Light-Mind" in that echoes of its contents though not exact parallels to it can also be found in the Chinese *Hymnscroll* (*v. infra*).[143] Both works: "describe the five Light Elements, the sons of the First Man and the World-Soul, not as the suffering victims of the worldly powers of darkness but as a pentad of mighty deities who support and promote the life of the creatures on earth."[144] Comparison of the Chinese and the Middle Iranian texts highlights the very great problems of translating *Manichaici termini* like 'soul'[145] into Chinese – a language which at the time of the introduction of Buddhism into China was still lacking the vocabularly to express concepts which were common place in Indo-European languages. The full publication of the fragments of this popular Manichaean work in Central Asia is eagerly awaited.

In the few years prior to the reunification of Germany, Sundermann had the opportunity to initiate a number of younger German scholars into the skills of Turfan studies. Fragments of the text of a version of a parable-book which is different from the Sogdian parable-book from Tuyoq is the subject of a major publication by Colditz.[146] The latter has also published the fragments of the hymns of Šād-Ohrmezd, clearly an important figure in eastern Manichaeism judging from the reverence paid to him in the double-page of the hymn-book cited above.[147] Her colleague Reck has begun the

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[143] W. Sundermann, *Der Sermon von der Seele. Ein Literaturwerk des östlichen Manichäismus*, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vorträge G310 (Opladen, 1991) *passim* .

[144] Idem, "Iranian Manichaean texts in Chinese remake" in A. Cadonna and L. Lanciotti (edd.), *Cina e Iran da Alessandro Magno alla Dunastia Tang* (Florence, 1996) 112.

[145] E.g. the use of the word *shen* 身'body' to mean 'soul' (Pe. & Pth.: gy'n) – though possible it would have been an extremely rare use of this common word.

[146] I. Colditz, "Bruchstücke manichäisch-parthischer Parabelsammlungen", *AoF* 14/2 (Berlin, 1987) 274-313.

[147] Eadem, "Hymnen an Šad-Ohrmezd. Ein Beitrag zur frühen Geschichte der Dīnāwarīya in Transoxanien", *AoF* 19 (1992) 322-23.

research into the Monday- and Bēma-hymns in Parthian,[148] the *incipits* of many of which are preserved in the index section of the hymn-book cited above. Manichaean scholars the world over cannot but be grateful for this continuing supply of resources for research on the history and doctrine of the religion from the powerhouse in Berlin and can only hope that a formula may be found within the new structure of German *academia* which will ensure the new Akademienvorhaben Turfanforschung maintaining the very high standards of research established by the pioneers of the Orientalische Kommission.

(b) Old Turkish (Uighur)

Müller, already established as the foremost scholar in Berlin on Manichaean texts in Middle Iranian, was also the first to publish a collection of texts in Old Turkish (Uighur) from Turfan. The majority of the texts in Uighur from Turfan are Buddhist and Müller's training as a Sinologist gave him considerable advantage in working with those Buddhist texts in Turkish for which Chinese versions exist. He was known to suggest to his research students that they translate Uighur words they did not understand into Chinese so that they could consult a decent (i.e. Chinese-Dutch) dictionary![149] The very first Uighur text he published, however, was a Christian midrash on the coming of the Magi.[150] His later publications, some jointly with his younger research colleague, von Gabain, were almost all devoted to Buddhist texts in Uighur. As von Le Coq had already established a reputation in *res Turcica*, it was natural that he should be the first scholar to undertake the systematic publication of Manichaean texts in Uighur. One text which received considerable attention and interest is the famous *X^{u}āstvānīft*, a long prayer-confessional for Manichaean Hearers. Several versions of it exist, the most important being those in St.

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[148] C. reck, "Ein weiterer parthischer Montagshymnus?", *AoF* 19/2 (Berlin, 1992) 342-49.

[149] Cf. von Gabain, *Die erste Generation*,102.

[150] "Ein manichäisch-uigurisches Fragment aus Idiqut Schahri", *SPAW* 1908, 19, 398-414. The text has been republished by A. van Tongerloo, "Ecce Magi ab oriente venerunt", *Acta Orientalia Belgica VII Philosophie – Philosophy, Tolerance* (Leuven, 1992) 57-74.

Petersburg,[151] Berlin[152] and a particularly well-preserved version among the Stein documents in London.[153] The Turkish versions were most likely to have been translated from Sogdian as the principal evil deity is named Šimnu rather than Ahriman – a nomenclature which is particular to Manichaean texts in Sogdian.[154] A number of Sogdian fragments of the same confessional were later identified and published by Henning.[155] The formula begins with a summary of Manichaean teaching on cosmogony and its ethical consequences are then expressed in the nature and categories of sins for which the Hearer had to make confession. The document is thus of enormous importance for the study of Manichaean cosmogony and ethics. Its popularity among Sogdian and Turkish Manichaeans shows clearly that written confessional formulas were a genre borrowed from Buddhism, then the dominant religion of the Tarim Basin.

Between 1911 and 1922, von Le Coq also published three substantial collections of fragments in both the Uighur and the Manichaean Estrangela scripts.[156] Like Müller's pioneering collection of Middle Iranian Manichaean texts, the fragments included in the three collections by von Le Coq were selected by their better state of preservation and they cover a wide range of topics. Knowledge of Manichaeism then was still very rudimentary and von Le Coq's editions of the fragments were consequently furnished with minimal introductions and hardly any notes. He did, however, succeed in identifying a group of fragments as containing a Turkish version of the Chinese Manichaean treatise made famous by the publications of Chavannes and Pelliot.[157] These have now been republished with translations into

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[151] *Chuastuanift, das Bussgebet der Manichäer. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von W. Radloff* (St. Petersburg, 1909) and "Nachträge zum Chuastuanit (Chuastuanvt), dem Bussgebete der Manichäer (Hörer)", *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg* 1911, 867-96.

[152] A. von Le Coq, *Chuastvanift, ein Sündbekenntnis der manichäischen Auditores gefunden in Turfan (Chinesisch-Turkistan)*, APAW 1910, Anhang, Abh. IV.

[153] "Dr. Stein's Turkish Khuastuanift from Tun-huang, being a Confession-Prayer of the Manichæan Auditores", *JRAS* 1911, 277-314.

[154] Cf. Sundermann, *Parabelbuch*, §b, p. 194; for the origins of the Sogdian name see Sims-Williams, *Upper Indus*, p. 40.

[155] *Sogdica*, 63-67.

[156] *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, I, APAW 1911, "II", ibid. 1919 and "III" , ibid. 1922.

[157] U45 (= T II D 119), MIK III 636 (= TM 300), U44 (= TM 423c), U43 (= TM 423b), U42 (= TM 423e), U41 (= T I α 2), U40 (= TM 423a) in A. von Le Coq, *Manichaica aus Chotscho*, III, 16-22.

German of their Chinese parallels[158] and further fragments have also been identified.[159] Von Le Coq became something of a folk-hero in his native Germany as his popular works on the three expeditions in which he played a leading role enjoyed instant and enormous publishing success. Clearly many of the fragments he published needed re-editing and in-depth study. This was provided for a select number of texts by W. Bang, a polymath, who before the First World War had held the Chair of Germanic Philology at Leuven and had a publication record which ranged from editions of Early English texts to critical studies on the *Codex Cumanicus*. He was forced to leave Belgium by the First World War and after the War he based himself at the Ungarischen Institüt in Berlin where he began a series of studies of texts published originally by von Le Coq.[160] He also collaborated with von Gabain, who had been Assistentin to Müller on four collections of Turkish Turfan texts, the third of which is devoted entirely to fragments of a hymn to the Father Mani,[161] as well as a study of the Manichaean Wind-God.[162] The second of the four collections also contains one text, of great significance to our knowledge, of the early history of Manichaeism in the Uighur court (TM 276a).[163] The Manichaeans appeared to have suffered persecution at the hands of a Turkish Tarqan, whose men killed "Hearers and merchants" wherever they could be found. The Electi petitioned the Khaghan to have the offending Tarqan removed, threatening national disaster if he would not comply with their wishes. After lengthy deliberation lasting two days and nights, the "divine king Bögü Khan" personally came to the assembly of the

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[158] H.-J. Klimkeit and H. Schmidt-Glintzer, "Die türkischen Parallelen zum chinesisch-Manichäischen Traktat", *Zentralasiatische Studien* 17 (1984) 82-117. Eng. trans. of the fragments in Klimkeit, *Gnosis*, pp. 331-33.

[159] Ch/U 6814 (= T II T 509), Ōt. Ry. 2266, U 128a (= TM 151), U199 (T I D), ed, and trans. P. Zieme, "Neue Fragmente des alttürkischen Sermons vom Licht-Nous", in C. Reck and P. Zieme (edd.), *Iran und Turfan, Beiträge Berliner Wissenschaftler, Werner Sundermann zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet*, Wiesbaden 1995, 251-76.

[160] "Manichaeische Laien-Beichtspiegel", *Le Muséon* 36 (1923) 137-242, "Manichaeische Hymnen", ibid. 38 (1925) 1-55, "Aus Manis Briefen" in *Aus den Forschungsarbeiten der Mitglieder des ungarischen Instituts in Berlin dem Andenken Robert Graggers gewidmet* (Berlin, 1927) 1-4 and "Manichäische Erzähler", *Le Muséon* 44 (1931) 1-36.

[161] "Türkische Turfantexte I", *SPAW* 1929 241-68, II: Der grosse Hymnus auf Mani, ibid. 441-30, III, ibid. (1930) 183-211, IV, ibid. 432-50, V, 1931, 323-56 and "Analytischer Index", ibid. 1931, 461-517.

[162] "Ein uigurisches Fragment über den manichäischen Windgott", *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 8 (1928) 248-56.

[163] "Türkische Turfan-Texte, II: Manichaica", *SPAW* 1929, 415-19.

Electi and begged forgiveness. This was followed by great rejoicing, not only among the Electi but also the population of the capital (presumably of Karabalghasun). Crowds numbering tens of thousands came, there was all kind of sport and games and the feasting lasted all night. The style of the narrative is characteristic of Manichaean missionary history in Middle Iranian and it is truly remarkable that it was preserved by Manichaean historians at Chotcho in recounting an important moment in the religion's more recent history.

Despite the industry of Bang and von Gabain, the proportion of Buddhist material among the Turkish texts from Turfan was so very much greater than that of the Manichaean, and the number of specialists on pre-Islamic Turkish was so small in comparison to the size of the task at hand, that the Turkish Manichaean texts were simply not given the same elaborate attention as texts in Middle Iranian.[164] The publication of Manichaean texts in Turkish came to a halt long before the outbreak of the Second World War. Von Gabain, the only surviving member of the Turkological team in Berlin, published a valuable grammar of Old Turkish (which includes samples of Manichaean scripts) during the War. Now in its third and enlarged edition, it remains the only *porta linguae* of the Turkish Manichaean texts.[165] After the War, she moved to the BRD and her only major publication on Turkish Manichaean texts was the Turkish part of Winter's edition of the unique bilingual (Tocharian B and Uighur) fragments of the Hymn to the Father Mani[166] in the *Pothi*-Book (*v. infra*). On the other hand, she published two major historical studies on the Uighur Kingdom of Chotcho which set the history of Manichaeism under Uighur patronage in its political and social historical context.[167] In the two decades after the War, the only significant publication on Turkish *Manichaica* was the *editio major* by Asmussen of the *X^{u}āstvānīft*, based on all three

[164] For a comprehensive survey of the Manichaean texts in Turkish arranged by type of texts see now L. Clark, "The Turkic Manichaean Literature" in P. Mirecki and J. BeDuhn, *Emerging from Darkness - Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources,* Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 43 (Leiden, 1997) 89-141.

[165] *Alttürkische Grammatik,* Porta Linguarum Orientalium, N. S. 10, 3rd. expanded edn. (Wiesbaden, 1974), (1st. edn., Leipzig 1941).

[166] A. von Gabain and W. Winter, *Türkische Turfantexte IX: Ein Hymnus an den Vater Mani auf 'Tocharisch' B mit alttürkischer Übersetzung, ADAW* 1956, II, Berlin 1958. [Hereafter von Gabain and Winter, *Hymnus.*]

[167] *Das uigurische Königreich von Chotscho 850-1250,* Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1961, no. 5 and *Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo,* 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1973).

previously published versions with a judicious and highly informative commentary.[168] The general lack of access to the documents in East Berlin was a major handicap in research and there was also no collection of photographs of the texts in the BRD like that of the Middle Iranian texts at Göttingen. The renaissance in the study of Manichaean texts in Old Turkish to some extent mirrored that of the study of the Manichaean texts in Middle Iranian. A series of articles culminating in a major collection of texts in the series *Berliner Turfantexte* by Zieme (of the then Akademie der Wissenschaften of the then DDR) put the study of the Turkish Manichaean texts back on the research agenda of the Akademie.[169] His more recent work – a collection of Buddhist and Manichaean verse with stave-rhyme stanzas, *viz.* verses which were composed to be read rather than listened to – introduces scholars to a special genre of Manichaean literature.[170] The "stanzaic alliteration patterns which characterise it are based on the written shape of words, where different (occasionally very different) sound does not appear to matter (or rather, is acceptable in poetic licence)".[171]

A text unique in the format of its binding among the Manichaean texts from Central Asia is a *pothi* (= palm-leaf) book. Its place of discovery, as so often happened, was wrongly attributed to Chotcho, but it in fact came from Bäzäklik (= Murtuq). More than fifty pages of this rare text have survived but their publications were scattered in a number of works by von Le Coq,[172] Bang[173] and von Gabain.[174] The extant fragments have now been skilfully assembled in a major new edition by Clark.[175] The reassembled fragments show that the *pothi*-book was a mini-library of Manichaean literature, containing a 'Great Hymn to Mani' (I v 1-XXV v 4) comprising

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[168] J. P. Asmussen, *X^{u}āstvānīft, Studies in Manichaeism* (Copenhagen, 1965) 167-93.

[169] P. Zieme, "Türkçe bir Mani siiri (Ein manichäisch-türkisches Gedicht)", *Türk Dili Arastirmalari yilligi: Belletin* 1969, 39-51, idem, "Ein manichäisch-türkisches Fragment in manichäischer Schrift", *Acta Orientalia ... Hungaricae* 23, 157-65 and idem, *Manichäisch-türkische Texte*, Berliner Turfantexte V (Berlin, 1975).

[170] *Die Stabreimtexte der Uiguren von Turfan und Dunhuang: Studien zur alttürkischen Dichtung*, Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica 33 (Budapest, 1991). [Hereafter Zieme, *Stabreimtexte.*]

[171] M. Erdal, Review of Zieme, op. cit., *BSOAS* 56/1 (1991) 145

[172] *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho,* III, APAW 1922, no. 39, 46-48 (text only).

[173] I.e. W. Bang, "Manichäische Erzähler", *Le Muséon* 44 (1931) 25-30.

[174] I.e. von Gabain and Winter, *Hymnus* 10-19.

[175] L. Clark, "The Manichaean Turkic *Pothi-Book*", *AoF* 9 (1982) 168-91.

more than a hundred and twenty quatrains of alliterated verses (i.e. in stave-rhyme, *v. supra*), a bilingual (Tocharian B and Uighur) "Hymn to Father Mani" (XXV v 5-XXIX r 5), an invocation to the prophets (XXIX v 1-[XXX?]), a confession text ([XXXI? – XXXVII ?]), a tale of Arazan the merchant – a highly topical choice of profession for the hero of the story given the popularity of the religion among the merchants of the Silk Road ([XXXVII]-XLIV r 1), benedictions (?) (XLIV), a story about demons ([45?]-?) and a colophon on transfer of merit. Though written in the unmistakably Manichaean Estrangela script, the *pothi*-book, clearly a product of the last phases of the religion in Central Asia, shows innumerable Buddhist features such as the *pothi*-format, the bilingual hymn, the unrestrained use of Buddhist terminology and the practice of transfer of merit.[176] The work was dated by von Gabain to the first quarter of the tenth century by identifying persons named in the colophon with the ruling Liao Dynasty. This has now been challenged on the grounds that the language displays a number of later features and an eleventh century date seems more likely.[177]

The study of the Manichaean texts in Turkish was one discipline which benefited immediately from the resumption of academic contacts between China and the West. From the early 1980s onwards, a frequent visitor to Germany, especially to the Universität Bonn, has been Prof. Geng Shimin, the doyen of Uighur studies in China. Prior to his first visit, Geng had already published in Chinese a transcription and translation of a Uighur Manichaean charter concerning the financial arrangements and internal discipline of Manichaean monasteries in the area of Chotcho (*v. supra*).[178] Together with his Bonn host, Prof. H.-J. Klimkeit, and in collaboration with Dr. P. Laut of Marburg, he published a text found in the early 1980s by workers clearing rubble in Cave 38 at Bäzäklik (see above). The text fills a vital gap in our knowledge of the last years of Mani's life as it gives an account of a debate between Mani and a prince called Hormizd who must have been successor to Shāpūr I. In the Coptic *Homilies*, Mani was said to have had little difficulty in securing from his successor the same degree of tolerance as was granted to him by Shāpūr, his most significant patron.[179]

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[176] Ibid. 159-60.

[177] Cf. M. Erdal, "The chronological classification of Old Turkish Texts", *Central Asiatic Journal*, 23 (1979) 169-71 and Zieme, *Stabreimtexte*, 21-23.

[178] For an English version of this important study with text and translation but not including word-index see Geng Shimin, "Notes on an Ancient Uighur official decree issued to a Manichaean monastery", *Central Asiatic Journal*, 35/3-4 (1991) 209-223. [See also below, pp. 87-96.]

[179] *Manichäische Homilien*, ed. and trans. H. J. Polotsky (Stuttgart, 1934) p. 42,15-30.

In true Manichaean hagiographical tradition, the Turkish fragment portrays the encounter as a confrontation which Mani had to win through his wit and his virtues and not through his previous connection with Shāpūr.[180] Another text, jointly published by Geng and Klimkeit from photographs of the Turfan collection in Hamburg, provides a fitting end to the history of Manichaeism in the Uighur kingdom of Chotcho. The recto of the text (M112) contains letters in Sogdian in which the author was greatly annoyed by certain damnable innovations to, and deviations from, the established rules of the sect practised by certain neighbouring communities or members of their own communities (castigated as the Mihrijja – members of a more liberal wing).[181] The reverse side of the fragment contains a Uighur text in the Sogdian script, which might have been written as a colophon, and recounts the valiant effort of a monk to redecorate a Manichaean temple (*manistan*) which had lost its decoration to a three-storeyed Buddhist *vihāra* built under imperial patronage.[182] The site of the discovery of the text has now been relocated by Sundermann to Complex-α, which was the first site to yield a significant number of Manichaean texts in the First German Expedition of 1902.[183] The presence of texts of such a late date and of pure local interest confirms beyond doubt that the site was the seat of a former Manichaean *archegos* of the East to whom the letters from the Miqlasījja were addressed and the site remained Manichaean until the conversion of the Uighur court to Buddhism, which took place after the tenth century, when the sole monk scribbled his sorrowful tale of vandalism on the reverse of a document received by the *archegos* perhaps more than a century earlier.

Before turning to the Chinese material, it is worth remembering that a large number of texts in Uighur, again mainly Buddhist texts or administrative documents, were brought back by Pelliot from Dunhuang to Paris. These are now being systematically published, and in the collection of texts from Cave 17 edited by J. Hamilton are three Manichaean texts (Pelliot Chinois 3049, 3407, 3071).[184] The first of the trio of texts is a praise of

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[180] Geng, Shimin and H.-J. Klimkeit in Verbindung mit J. P. Laut, "Manis Wettkampf mit dem Prinzen", *ZDMG* 137 (1987) 44-58.

[181] W. Sundermann, "Probleme der Interpretation manichäisch-soghdischer Briefe", *Acta Antiqua ... Hungaricae,* 28 (1983) 305-12.

[182] Geng Shimin and H.-J. Klimkeit, "Zerstörung manichäischer Klöster in Turfan", *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 18 (1987) 7-11

[183] Sundermann, *Completion*, 287.

[184] *Manuscripts ouïgours du ix^{e}-x^{e} siècle de Touen-houang*, 2 vols., Paris, Vol. 1, 37-62. See also P. Zieme, "Notizen zum alttürkischen Sprichtwortschatz" in *Altaica Osloensia, Proceedings from the 32nd Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference* (Oslo, 1990) 401-09. Hamilton's more recent

Mani, the Buddha of Light, which gives a full list of the names of the main Manichaean deities in Uighur. The names are clearly translated from Sogdian but the use of the name Zurvan for the Father of Greatness points ultimately to a Parthian origin. The text is one which students of Manichaean *technici termini* and cosmogony ignore at their own peril.

(c) Chinese

The first Chinese Manichean text to be identified as such was, as mentioned above, the "Fragment Pelliot", but its publication was inevitably delayed when the text of the long treatise now in Beijing was made available to Chavannes and Pelliot. The two texts (the "Traité" and "Fragment Pelliot" respectively) were published in the monograph article by the two French scholars in three parts in *Journal Asiatique*.[185] The two scholars did not, however, have access to the original text in Beijing and the text on which they based their translation was copied by a scribe who made a number of either careless copying mistakes or perfidious improvements. The worst of these is the confusion between the two key Manichaean terms *chi-nien* 記念 (memory) and *chi-yen* 記驗 (signs, symbols), causing considerable confusion to the two translators.[186] Unfortunately, the facsimile text accompanying the work of Chavannes and Pelliot was the most available version to scholars outside China. It was incorporated without correction into the standard Buddhist canon, the *Taishō shinshu daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經[187]and this same error-ridden text was also used by Schmidt-Glintzer in his German translation of the three Chinese Manichaean texts from Dunhuang.[188] A critical text based on a first-hand examination of the original text, and which reproduces accurately its special orthography, was produced by the Chinese scholar Ch'en Yüan 陳垣 a decade after the pioneering publication of Chavannes and Pelliot.[189] This was largely

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study on calendrical texts also contains material relevant to study of Turkish Manichaean texts: "Calendriers manichéens ouïgours de 988, 989 et 1003" in J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont *et al.* (edd.), *Mélanges offerts à Louis Bazin*, Varia Turcica 19 (Paris, 1992) 7-20.

[185] E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine I", *Journal Asiatique*, 10[e] sér., 18 (1911) 499-617 and II and III", ibid. 11[e] sér., 1 (1913) 99-199 and 261-392. [Hereafter, *Traité* 1911 and 1913.]

[186] *Traité* 1911, 541.

[187] 2140-2141B, Vol. LIV, pp.1270b21-1286a29.

[188] *Chinesische Manichaica mit text kritischen Anmerkungen und einem Glossar*, Studies in Oriental Religions 14 (Wiesbaden, 1987) 76-103.

[189] "*Mo-ni chiao ts'an-ching* 摩尼教殘經 (Fragmentary Manichaean Sūtra)", *Kuo hsüeh chi-k'an* 國學季刊 1/2 (1923) 531-544.

unknown to scholars in the West. A new edition of the text with a close comparison of the Parthian, Sogdian and Turkish parallels is clearly needed and one is in hand for the new *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum* project by the present author in collaboration with Gunner Mikkelsen of Aarhus University (Denmark) and with A. van Tongerloo (Leuven). In the meantime, photographs of the text can be consulted in the work of Lin Wu-shu 林悟殊[190] and are also available on microfilm in many major academic libraries in the West.

Of the two Chinese texts in the Stein collection of Dunhuang manuscripts identified as Manichaean, the first is a long hymn-scroll and the other the first and main part of the "Fragment Pelliot" (*v. supra*).[191] The hymn-scroll became the subject of two major studies by Waldschmidt and Lentz[192] who also translated substantial parts of it. At the time of its discovery, it was the longest single Manichaean document and certainly the largest single collection of Manichaean hymns. These are translated from Parthian and the work contains two hymns in phonetic transcription. A number of Aramaic words have now been tentatively identified in these phonetic hymns by Yoshida,[193] which is not altogether surprising considering the frequent occurrence of Syriac words in Parthian texts.[194] The Chinese parts of the text were translated into English by the Buddhist scholar, Tsui Chi, at the suggestion of Henning. The text has a very odd Chinese title, *Mo-ni chiao hsia-pu tsan* 摩尼教下部讚, which is rendered into Chinese by Tsui Chi as the "The lower (second?) section of the Manichaean hymns". Such a translation would assume a somewhat unusual scribal practice as the normal way of indicating "second section" would have been *chüan-hsia* 卷下 or *chüan-erh* 卷二. It seems more likely that the title means "Hymns for the Lower Section (i.e. the Hearers) of the Manichaean Religion". There is a suggestive parallel to such an interpretation in one of the headers of the Middle Iranian hymn-book referred to above (M1 [i.e. *Mahrnāmag*] S1 H): *nywš'g'n pywhyšn* "supplication of the Hearers". Another example (in

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[190] *Mo-ni chiao chi ch'i tung-ch'ien* 摩尼教及其東漸 (Manichaeism and its eastern diffusion) (Beijing, 1987) 217-229.

[191] E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, "A Chinese Manichaean hymnal from Tun-huang", *JRAS* 1926, 116-299 and idem, "A Chinese Manichaean hymnal from Tun-huang:-Additions and corrections", ibid. 298-99.

[192] *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus,* APAW 1926, 4 and "Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten", *SPAW* 13, 480-607. [Hereafter *Stellung Jesu* and *Dogmatik.*]

[193] Yutaka Yoshida, "Manichaean Aramaic in the Chinese Hymnscroll", *BSOAS* 46 (1983) 326-31.

[194] See esp. Word-Index to *MM* iii.

Sogdian) is the title "Homily addressed to the laymen" (*nγ'wš'nk wyδβ'γ*).[195]

Since Tsui Chi did his translation in London, it was generally assumed that he would have had access to the original text in the British Museum (now in the British Library). This was not in fact the case. The manuscript was in safe storage in Wales for the entire duration of the War and Tsui Chi's translation was based on a microfilm version of the original and the far from satisfactory transcription in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*. The ink of the text copied on the reverse had come through in many places thereby causing serious problems to any photographic reproduction of the text.[196] One case in point is the almost meaningless translation of line 205a, where the first stanza in the *Taishō* text reads *tsun-che chi-shih chieh-shang nu-ssu* 尊者即是劫傷怒思, which Tsui Chi translates as "Even if the venerable priests were menaced, injured, or in anger (?), *etc.*". This interpretation is followed by Schmidt-Glintzer: "Von den ehrwürdigen Priestern mögen manche bedroht, verwundet oder verärgert sein, usw." However, *chieh-shang nu-ssu* 劫傷怒思 is a very unusual combination of characters and the fact that this particular stanza has one extra character should have alerted the reader to their being a phonetic transliteration of a foreign name or term, and, in any case, four words with verbal functions in sequence is stylistically odd. I am grateful to Prof. Lin Wu-shu, who has personally examined the manuscript, for pointing out to me at an international seminar on the Traktat (Traité) Pelliot at Lund, that the editor of the *Taishō* text may have misread 傷 *i* – a character commonly used in transliteration (e.g. ms. lines 21-22) for 傷 *shang* – 'to injure, to wound'. Professor Sundermann, who was also present at the discussion, surmised that the new phrase *chieh-i nu-ssu* 劫傷怒思 may have been the phonetic transliteration of the name of the angel Kaftinus (Pe. *kftnyws*, see M20 I R 3). This suggestion would certainly make better sense in the context even if we can not be certain of the exact Iranian equivalent of the name. Since then I have personally examined the manuscript in the British Library and can confirm Prof. Lin's reading.

We owe the translation of the main part of the *Compendium*, the third major Chinese Manichaean document, also to the energies of Henning. While the School of Oriental Studies was relocated to Cambridge during the Second World War, he and the then Professor of Chinese at Cambridge, Haloun, met regularly to work on a joint translation of the text, a work

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[195] Cf. W. B. Henning, "The Murder of the Magi", *JRAS* 1944, 137.

[196] Clearly shown in *Stellung Jesu*, pl. 1.

which Henning published after the death of Haloun.[197] Although both scholars realised that the "Fragment Pelliot" in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is a continuation of the same text, they did not include it in their translation, with the exception of a few characters which conclude the sentence at the end of the text in the British Museum. The second half of the sentence preserved in the "Fragment Pelliot", as it happens, has been a source of both perplexity and curiosity: perplexity because of its context, which was unclear until the discovery of the main part of the text, and curiosity because it seems to refer to the disposal and storage of dead bodies – a pertinent issue as Manichaeans in China were accused of not giving their dead a proper burial. However, the first part of the sentence, as preserved in the part of the text in the British Library, shows clearly that the mention of dead bodies is a metaphor borrowed from Buddhism, and the context of the passage is about internal discipline within the Manichaean community and not about the disposal of the dead. The text claims to have been translated from "Sanskrit" (*sic*, the translation was probably disguising the fact that the original was in Parthian) but it contains a passage which is only of relevance to the diffusion of the religion in China, *viz.* the legend that Lao-tzu, the founder of Taoism, did not die but went West and converted Barbarians to his teaching. Among his later manifestations were the Buddha and Mani, the Buddha of Light. Since the relevant passage contains verbatim quotation from a known Chinese text, the *Sūtra on the Conversion of Barbarians* (*Hua-hu ching* 化胡經), that particular section could not possibly have been translated out of Parthian. As Lin has convincingly demonstrated, the word *shih* 譯 in Ms. line 3 can mean to 'explain' or to 'expound' as well as to 'translate'.[198] Thus, the text is adapted rather than translated from a Parthian original. The frequent occurrence of Parthian words in transliteration in the text leaves little doubt that it was predominantly a translated document. The whole text has now been translated into German (with no notes) by Schmidt-Glintzer[199] and into French (with notes mainly on the Buddhistic elements of the document) by N. Tajadod[200] who also reproduced the hitherto unpublished translation by Pelliot and the eminent

[197] G. Haloun and W. B. Henning, "The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light", *Asia Major*, N. S. 3 (1952) 184-212..

[198] "The origin of "The Compendium of the Teaching of Mani" in Chinese in A. van Tongerloo and S. Giversen (edd.), *Manichaica Selecta, Studies presented to Professor Julien Ries on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, Leuven-(Louvian, 1991) 231.

[199] Schmidt-Glintzer, op. cit., pp. 69-75.

[200] Tajadod, op. cit., pp. 45-65.

Buddhologist, Paul Demiéville, of the main part of the document, which is still worth consulting.[201]

Since Chinese was also an important language of the Silk Road, it is not surprising that two fragments of Manichaean texts in Chinese have now been identified among Chinese texts in the Turfansammlung in Berlin by Thilo.[202] The first, measuring only 13.2 x 8.2cm, and containing a hitherto unattested penitential prayer to a "Great Saint" (i.e. Mani) was once part of a small codex. The fragment bears the manuscript signature of Ch 174 (formerly T II 1917). It was brought to Berlin by the Second German Expedition. The second and less well preserved fragment (T II T 1319) once constituted the centre part of a double-page (13.2 x 4.7cm) and one half of it contains, on both sides, verses of a Manichaean hymn, which is also attested in a slightly different translation in the London hymn-scroll (§§ 161-163 and 167-169). The other half of the double-page contains part of a hymn of which a Parthian version has been identified in two manuscriptal fragments by Sundermann. These new small fragments of Chinese Manichaean texts from Turfan, both once parts of codices, contrast in format with the texts from Dunhuang which are preserved on long scrolls. The hymn-scroll measures some 7.5m in length and the "Traité", 6.2m. The codex format is much more popular among the texts discovered from Turfan. The fact that the second of the two fragments contains parts of a translation of a hymn, which is different from the translation preserved in the hymn-scroll but has the same recognisable original, and that codices were not widely used before the ninth century, implies that the translation of Manichaean texts into Chinese was still being carried out in the Uighur Kingdom of Chotcho after the religion had been expelled from China itself.

It is worth noting that the Chinese texts from both Dunhuang and Turfan render the important Iranian Manichaean term, the "Three Ditches (or moats)" (Pth. *hry p'rgyn*, Pe. *sh p'rgyn*), with the Buddhist term, "Three Calamities" (*san-tsai* 三災). But there is no conceptual link between the two terms, and the Chinese term, though commonly found in Chinese Buddhist texts, seems not to have a Sanskrit or Pali equivalent, which may imply that it was coined by translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese. There is a variety of Chinese words which the translator could have used to represent

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201 Ibid. pp. 257-70.

202 Th. Thilo, "Einige Bemerkungen zu zwei chinesisch-manichäischen Textfragmenten der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung", in Klengel and Sundermann (edd.) op. cit., pp 161-170. For Parthian parallels see W. Sundermann, "Anmerkungen zu: Th. Thilo, Einige Bemerkungen zu zwei chinesisch-manichäischen Textfragmenten der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung", ibid. 171-74.

the concept of a physical cleavage. As Chavannes and Pelliot remarked, the original Chinese term chosen might have been *san-hue* 三穴 (three holes or ditches) and the physical resemblance of the character 穴 *hue* to the character 災 *tsai* in Tang orthography allowed for the adoption of the Buddhist term. The fact that the same term "Three Calamities" is found in similar context in one of the newly published fragments of Chinese Manichaean texts from Turfan shows that it is not a one-off decision by the translator of the "Traité" to assimilate, or rather to replace, a key Manichaean motif by a Buddhist Chinese term with similar orthographic appearance, but rather that the translators in Dunhuang and Turfan both used standardised multilingual terminological lists which resemble those published by Henning in *Sogdica* and the more recently discovered Syriac and Coptic lists from the Dakhleh Oasis.[203]

6. *Manichaean art and architecture from Alchi, Ladakh (north India) (?)*

Sogdian merchants travelled across the Hindu Kush as well as the Pāmirs. North India and Tibet had long been within the orbit of Central Asian commercial, cultural and artistic interchange. An inscription at Drangtse in the Ladakh region shows that Sogdians (probably merchants) from Samarkand, together with a Buddhist monk, were among an official delegation sent to the court of the Tibetan Khaghan in 841/2.[204] More tantalising still is the Sogdian graffito which gives the name *sr'wšrt'yn* (from *Srōšart*, the Sogdian name of the Manichaean divinity, the "Column of Glory" = Pe. *srwš'hr'y*).[205] With such unambiguous evidence of contact with Central Asia, one is led to wonder whether Manichaean influences could be detected in the famous Buddhist art of Ladakh. At Alchi in Ladakh is located a three-storeyed (*Sum-tsek*) Buddhist temple which exhibits magnificent Buddhist wall-paintings dating back to the eleventh century. Diagonally leftward from the entrance to the second floor is a panel of five small paintings of the Tathāgatas in their paradises. Klimkeit has pointed out that there are cross-symbols in the paintings which are not commonly found in Buddhist art. We know from Central Asian and Chinese Manichaean texts that Vairocana (Chinese Buddhist *pi-lu-she-na* 毗盧遮那, Chinese Mānichaean *lu-she-na* 盧舍那, Turkish *Lusyanta*) is identified with

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[203] I. Gardner (ed.), *Kellis Literary Texts*, Vol. 1 (Oxford, 1996) 112-26.

[204] N. Sims-Williams, "Travellers to Tibet: the Sogdian inscriptions of Ladakh" (unpubl.) 4.

[205] Ibid. pp. 5-6.

the Column of Glory (Pe. *srwš'hr'y*), a Manichaean deity of the Third Creation who also signifies Jesus *patibilis*, the sum total of Light-Particles crucified in matter and whose symbol is the Cross of Light. Since Vairocana is the essential body of the Buddha-truth which, like the Light, pervades everywhere, it is a convenient choice for symbolising a Gnostic concept which has its origins firmly rooted in apocryphal Christian literature. In the case of the depiction of Aksobhya at Alchi, a Cross of Light has replaced his normal thunderbolt (*vajra*). Since the latter normally symbolises the Buddha-nature or the *vajra* (adamantine truth) nature which resides in all beings, the substitution is also appropriate. At Alchi the figure of Amitābha, the Buddha of Light, is also accompanied by a white cross and the symbol of the sun. The cross here may represent Jesus the Luminous who resides in the moon, hence the juxtaposition of the sun and the cross. One may surmise that a Manichaean visitor could see in them a representation of the five *membra dei* of the Great Nous while a Buddhist would accept them as a more or less traditional depiction of the five Paradises of the Tathāgatas. In the entrance court of the Assembly Hall (*Du-'khang*) in the same temple complex is a mural depicting two ships. The symbol of the ship crossing the sea of suffering, as Klimkeit remarks, is common in Buddhism but the symbolism of two ships is regarded by Klimkeit as unusual and may have been inspired by the Manichaean concept of the sun and moon as "light vessels".[206]

The region of Ladakh had been part of the Central Asian Empire of Tibet which flourished in the Early Middle Ages. Tibetan sources reveal some knowledge of Manichaeism, derived (as far as one can deduce from the spelling of proper names) from Middle Iranian, especially from Sogdian sources. As the Uighurs constituted a major part of China's military effort to curtail the expansion of the Tibetan Empire in the second half of the eighth century, especially in the area around the strategic town of Beiting, and many of the Uighurs would have been Manichaeans, knowledge of the religion could have diffused into Tibet through them.[207] The temple at Alchi, on the other hand, was built, according to epigraphical evidence, by followers of Rinchen Zangpo in probably the second half of the eleventh century when Manichaeism was no longer a major religious force east of the Pāmirs. Moreover, the poor quality of the photographs produced by

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[206] H.-J. Klimkeit, *Manichaean art and calligraphy*, Iconography of Religions 20 (Leiden, 1982) 33.

[207] C. I. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire of Central Asia* (Princeton, N. J., 1988) 146-56, 163-69.

Klimkeit[208] obscures the fact that the crosses are filled with fine drawings of waves and delicate patterns and that in another of the paintings there is also a half-cross and a cross with rounded corners containing the same patterns.[209] Klimkeit's classification of the wall-paintings at the *Sum-tsek* at Alchi as Manichaean clearly needs to be reconsidered.

7. *Manichaean architecture and pottery from Fujian* 福建 *(South China)*

The publication of Chavannes and Pelliot's work caused considerable excitement among Chinese scholars, who were particularly surprised by the material on the survival of the religion in China proper after the end of the T'ang period, which had witnessed the expulsion of religions from the Near East, including Zoroastrianism, Nestorian Christianity and Manichaeism. Building on the foundation laid by the French scholars, Ch'en Yüan, the then leading authority on many aspects of foreign influences of Chinese history and culture, published a monograph-length article in which he reproduced all the testimonia given by Chavannes and Pelliot and included a few additions which he had found in his voracious reading of the Chinese sources. The most interesting of these is an account by Ho Ch'iao-yüan 何喬遠, a *literatus* of the Ming period who appears to have had first hand knowledge of the sect in the province of Min 閩 (i.e. Fujian) in South China:[210]

> The Hua-piao Hill of the county of Chin-kiang prefecture of Ch'üan-chou is joined to the Ling-yüan Hills. Its two peaks stand up like hua-p'iao (i.e. twin columns placed at entrance of tombs). On the ridge slope back of the hill is a rustic shrine dating from the Yüan period. There reverence is paid to Buddha Mani. The Buddha Mani has for name "Brilliant Buddha Mo-mo-ni". he came from Su-lin (i.e. Assuristan) and is also a Buddha, having the name "Envoy of the Great Light, Complete in Knowledge".... In the year Ping-ssu of the T'ai-shih period of emperor Wu of the Chin (A.D. 266) he died in Persia. He entrusted his doctrine to a chief *mu-che*. The *mu-che* in the reign of Kao-Tsung of Tang (650-683) propagated his religion in the Middle Kingdom. Then, in the time of Wu Tse-t'ien (684-704) an eminent disciple of the mu-che, the *fu-to-tan* Mi-wu-mo-ssu (Mihr Ormuzd) came in turn to the court. ... In the period K'ai-yüan (713-741) a Ta-yün-kuang-ming-ssu

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[208] See esp. Klimkeit, op. cit., pls.XII-XIII, figs 17-20.

[209] See P. Pal, *Marvels of Buddhist Art: Alchi-Ladakh*, with photgraphs by L. Fournier (Paris, 1983) S71.

[210] *Min-shu* 閩書 7.31b2-32b7 (with omissions), trans. Brisson, revised by Lieu. [For a more complete translation see below pp. 194-95.]

(Temple of the Light of the Great Clouds) was established for the worship (of Manī) .... In the period Hui-ch'ang (841-846) when (Buddhist) monks were suppressed in great numbers, the religion of the light was included in the suppression. However, a *hu-lu fā-shi* (i.e. an Elect) came to Fou-t'ang (south of Fou-chou), and taught his disciples at San-shan (in Fou-chou). He came to the commandery of Ch'üan in his travels and died (there) and was buried at the foot of a mountain to the north of the commandery. In the period Chih-tao (995-997) a scholar of Huai-an, Li T'ing-yü, found an image of the Buddha (Mani) in a soothsayer's shop at the capital; it was sold to him for 50,000 cash-pieces, and this his auspicious image was circulated in Fukien.... When T'ai-tsu of the Ming Dynasty established his rule, he wanted the people to be guided by the Three Religions (i.e. Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism). He was further displeased by the fact that [the Manichaeans] in the name of their religion (i.e. Ming) usurped the dynastic title. He expelled their followers (from their shrines) and destroyed their shrines. The President of the Board of Finance, Yu Hsin, and the president of the Board of Rites, Yang Lung, memorialized the throne to stop (this proscription); and because of this the matter was set aside and dropped. At present those among the people who follow its (Manichaean) practices use formulas of incantation called "The Master's Prescription", (but) they are not much in evidence. Behind the shrine are the Peak of Ten Thousand Stones, the Jade Spring, the Cloud-Ladder of a Hundred Steps, as well as accounts graven on the rocks (by visitors).

Attempts to locate the rustic shrine on Hua-piao Hill in the years before the region came under Japanese occupation were unsuccessful and it was not until the 1950s that it was finally identified by Wu Wen-liang 吳文良 a local antiquarian and archaeologist.[211] The stone statue of Mani still extant in the shrine is a thirteenth century replacement of an earlier one and gives the immediate appearance of a normal statue of Buddha. On further examination, however, a number of un-Buddhist features readily emerge. The Buddha is usually depicted as having downcast eyes and curly hair and as being clean-shaven. The statue in the rustic shrine, however, stares straight at the spectator. His hair is straight and is draped over his shoulders and he is also bearded. He is fleshy-jowled while the facial features of the Buddha are usually more shallow. His eyebrows are arched while those of the Buddha are usually straight. Mani's hands rest on his abdomen with both palms facing upwards while those of the Buddha are usually held up in a symbolic or ritual gesture (*mudrā*). Conspicuous in his garment is the unusual design of a double-knot which is paralleled by the now destroyed wall-painting of Mani (?) found in Complex-K at Chotcho by von Le Coq.

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211 Wu Wen-liang, *Ch'üan-chou tsung-chiao shih-ko* 泉州宗教石刻, (Peking, 1957) 44.

The head, body and hands of the statue in the shrine are skilfully carved from stones of different hues to give an overall impression of luminosity. Moreover, excavations during the 1980s in the area in front of the rustic shrine, on which a large Buddhist temple now stands, unearthed a complete glazed bowl and a considerable number of fragments of a distinctive black earthenware pottery. Inside the complete bowl is inscribed in large letters: *Ming-chiao hui* 明教會, i.e. "The assembly of the Teaching of Light (or Light-Sect)". Some fragments examined by the author in 1993 carry the inscription *Ming-chiao pao* 明教寶, i.e. "the possession (lit. treasure) of the Teaching of Light (or Light-Sect)". These were clearly once utensils for the communal eating of vegetarian meals by the sect. On a rock face was once carved in large letters the inscription: "Please remember Purity (i.e. Divinity), Light, Great Power, Wisdom, the Peerless Truth, Mani the Buddha of Light" (i.e. the qualities of the Four-faced Father of Greatness, *v. supra*). The inscription was seriously damaged during the Cultural Revolution and is no longer extant, but a version of it based on photographs of the original has been reinscribed on the hill-side behind the temple at a new location. An incomplete version of the same inscription on large stone slabs was found by workmen in the same province of China in 1991 indicating that it was a standard Manichaean motto and often inscribed. Part of this motto can also be found in the "Traité" from Dunhuang as a quotation from Mani's *Evangelium*. Another link with the texts from Dunhuang is that the Manichaeans, according to Ho Chiao-yüan, preserved a set of dates of Mani's life (i.e. 208-266) which is found only in the *Compendium* from Dunhuang and is at odds with the commonly accepted dates of 216-274. The error was most likely to have been caused in the translation of the original Sassanian calendrical formula and it is unlikely that it would have been repeated with the same results by a new influx of Manichaeans from the maritime Silk Route which flourished in the Islamic period. The rustic shrine in the south of China, the only extant building of the Manichaean religion, is therefore directly linked to its past as a major religion of the Silk Road in Central Asia. That it should be situated near a city (modern Quanzhou = Zaitun in the time of Marco Polo) which was a major terminal of the maritime Silk Route in the Middle Ages is no coincidence, as the ethnic and religious diversity of the city and its surrounding area provided ideal cover for the religion. It is entirely appropriate, therefore, that the city of Quanzhou was chosen as the terminus of UNESCO's Maritime Silk Road Expedition in 1990 and that the Manichaean rustic shrine on Hua-piao Hill should feature prominently on the festive itinerary of the delegates.

ABBREVIATIONS

Adam, *Texte*	A. Adam, *Texte zum Manichäismus*, Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen, CLXXV, 2nd edn. (Berlin, 1969)
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen* (Berlin)
APAW	Abhandlungen der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin, 1815-1907; philosoph.-hist. Kl., 1908-49)
Aspects	F. Decret, *Aspects du manichéisme dans l'Afrique romaine* (Paris, 1970).
Aug.	Aurelius Augustinus
BBB	W. B. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, APAW 1936, X.
BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'École Francaise d'xtrême-Orient*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*
BSO(A)S	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies*
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca (Turnhout, 1977 ff.)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout 1967 ff.)
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae (Washington, D.C. etc. 1967 ff.)
Chin.	Chinese
CJ	*Codex Justinianus*
CMC	*Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis*
coll.	*Lex Dei sive Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum collatio*
Copt.	Coptic
Copt./Gr.	Coptic word of Greek origin
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Paris, Louvain etc. 1903 ff.)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1866 ff.)
CT	*Codex Theodosianus*
Epiph.	Epiphanius Constantensis
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte (Leipzig 1897-1941; Berlin and Leipzig, 1953; Berlin 1954 ff.)
Gnosis, III	A. Böhlig and J. P. Asmussen (edd. and transs.), *Die Gnosis*, III, *Der Manichäismus* (Zürich and Munich, 1980)
Gr.	Greek
[Hegem]., *Arch.*	[Hegemonius], *Acta Archelai*
Hom.	*Manichäische Homilien*, ed. and trans. H.-J. Polotsky (Stuttgart, 1934)
HR ii	F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan* II, aus den Anhang zu den APAW, 1904, 1-117.

IMTT W. Sundermann (ed.), *Iranian Manichaean Turfan Texts in early publications (1904-1934),* Photo Edition, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Suppl. Ser. III (London, 1996)

JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London)

JRS *Journal of Roman Studies*

JTS *Journal of Theological Studies* (Oxford)

Keph. *Kephalaia*, edd. and transs. H.-J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig (Stuttgart, 1940 ff.)

KPT W. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Berliner Turfantexte IV (Berlin, 1973)

L'Afrique, i-ii F. Decret, *L'Afrique manichéenne, Étude historique et doctrinale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1978.)

Lat. Latin

Lieu, *Manichaeism*[2] S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, 2nd edn. (Tübingen, 1992)

MIO *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* (Berlin)

MM i-iii F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan I*, SPAW X, 1932, pp. 175-222; II, ibid. 1933, VII, pp. 294-363 and III, ibid. 1934, XXVII, pp. 848-912

MMTKGI W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, Berliner Turfantexte XI (Berlin, 1981)

NH(M)S *Nag Hammadi (and Manichaean) Studies* (Leiden)

Pe. Middle Persian

PG *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeco-Latina*, edd. J. P. Migne *et al.*, 162 vols. (Paris, 1857-66)

PL *Patrologiae cursus completus*, series, Latina, edd. J. P. Migne *et al.*, 221 vols. (Paris 1844-64) and 5 Suppl. (1958-74)

PO *Patrologia Orientalis*, edd. R. Graffin and F. Nau (Paris, 1907 ff.)

Ps.-Bk. *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, I, Pt. 2, ed. and trans. C. R. C. Allberry (Stuttgart, 1938)

Pth. Parthian

PW A. Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa (Stuttgart 1893 ff.)

Reader M. Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Acta Iranica IX (Tehran-Liège, 1975)

Šb. *Šābuhragān*, ed. D. N. MacKenzie, "Mani's *Šābuhragān*", *BSOAS* 42/3 (1979) 500-34 and "Mani's *Šābuhragān* - II", *ibid.* 43/2 (1980) 288-310.

Sogd. Sogdian

SPAW *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1882-1921; phil-os.-hist. Kl., 1922-49)

SPPY *Ssu-pu pei-yao* 四部備要 (Shanghai, 1927-36)

SPTK	*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊 (Shanghai, 1935)
T	*Taishō shinshu daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (The Tripitaka in Chinese, Tokyo, 1924-29
TMC i-iii	A. von Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, I, *APAW*, 1911; II, ibid. 1919 and II, ibid. 1922.
Traité 1911	E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine," *Journal Asiatique*, 10^{e} sér.,18 (1911) 499-617.
Traité 1913	E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine, deuxième partie, Fragment Pelliot et textes historiques", *Journal Asiatique*, 11^{e} ser., 1 (1913) 99-199 and 261-392.
W.-L. i-ii	E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus,* APAW 1926, 4; "Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten", *SPAW* 1933, 13, pp. 480-607.
Word-List	M. Boyce, *A Word-List in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Acta Iranica 9a (Teheran-Liège, 1977) .
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZRGG	*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*